

PRINCETON UNIV. DEPT OF  
HISTORY.  
NOTES OF THE LECTURES IN  
THE HISTORY OF WESTERN  
EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES  
1909-1911

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1909

NOTES OF THE LECTURES

IN THE

HISTORY OF WESTERN  
EUROPE

IN THE MIDDLE AGES



PRINTED FOR THE USE OF THE CLASS  
NOT PUBLISHED

## BOOKS REQUIRED IN THE COURSE.

This list is not the same as the list of last year.

1. Robinson; History of Western Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.44.
2. Emerton; Mediæval Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.35.
3. Eginhard; Life of Charlemagne, translated by S. E. Turner. \$0.30.
4. Freeman, E. A.; A Short History of the Norman Conquest of England. Clarendon Press. \$0.54.
5. Seignobos; History of Mediæval Civilization. Scribners. \$0.67.
6. Hutton, W. H.; King and Baronage. Scribners. \$0.45.
7. Hutton, W. H.; Philip Augustus. Macmillan. \$0.68.
8. Bryce; The Holy Roman Empire. Macmillan. \$1.35.
9. Jordanes; History of the Goths. Trans. C. C. Mierow.
10. The Printed Notes; to be bought at the University Library. \$0.25.  
(The Calendar and list of books in last year's notes are not correct for this year.)
11. The Outline Maps to be bought at the University Book Store. \$0.15.

All of these books can be bought by members at the University Book Store at the prices affixed to each.

It will be necessary to own Robinson, Emerton, Mediæval Europe (*not* The Introduction to History of Mediæval Europe used last year), the Printed Notes, the Maps and Seignobos, History of Mediæval Civilization.

Buy or order these *now*. If, because of your neglect of this precaution, you do not have a book when you need it, an iron clad rule of the course prevents the instructors from paying any attention to the excuse. It is better to own the other books. But, if you do not wish to buy them, you may read them in the library, where a number of copies have been provided. The proportion to the size of the class of copies provided, is larger than that provided at some universities. But it will not be large enough, if everybody puts off using the books until the last possible moment.

The following maps in the text books are to be drawn on the outline maps. The figures in front indicate weeks when due.

1. The Roman Empire. Rob. 8 (Map No. 204).
1. Barbarian Inroads. Rob. 26 (Map No. 204).
2. Theodoric's Kingdom. Rob. 31 (Map No. 204).
2. Christian Missions. Rob. 63 (Map No. 204).
3. Dominions of the Franks. Rob. 37 (Map No. 204).
3. Empire of Charlemagne. Rob. 82 (Map No. 204).
6. Europe about 1000 A. D. Rob. 152 (Map No. 204).
7. The Empire in 1189. Bryce 181 (Map No. 204).
8. Crusaders' Routes. Rob. 190 (Map No. 204).
8. Crusaders' State in Syria. Rob. 193 (Map No. 204).
10. Dominions of Henry II. Hutton (England) 18 (Map No. 48).
11. France at Close of Reign of Philip Augustus. Rob. 129 (Map No. 48).
12. Italian Towns in 12th Century. Rob. 175 (Map No. 12).
12. Lines of Trade and Mediæval Towns. Rob. 242 (Map No. 204).
14. Territory Ceded by Treaty of Bretigny. Rob. 287 (Map No. 48).

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3

1909-1911

## CALENDAR OF COURSE. 1909.

(Not the same as the Calendar for last year.)

The student is expected to consult this Calendar, to report for lectures and to be prepared on assignments at the proper dates. Recitations on assignments may be either written or oral.

All assignments of pages are inclusive of the last page mentioned.

### First week.

Monday, Feb. 15. Lecture I.

Tuesday, Feb. 16. Lecture II.

Wednesday, Feb. 17. Robinson, Chaps. I, II and III.

Seignobos, pages 1 to 15. Jordanes, page 55, para. 78, to page 70.

### Second week.

Monday, Feb. 22. Vacation.

Tuesday, Feb. 23. Jordanes, pages 92 to end + Seignobos, 26 to 38 + Rob., 44 to 66.

Wednesday, Feb. 24. Lecture III.

### Third week.

Monday, March 1. Seignobos, 39 to 60 + Rob., 66 to 91.

Tuesday, Mar. 2. Eginhard.

Wednesday, Mar. 3. Lecture IV.

### Fourth week.

Monday, Mar. 8. Seignobos, 61 and 62 + Rob., 92 to 103. Emerton, 35 to 40. Omit details about Italy, Burgundy and Provence. + Seignobos, 63 to 85.

Tuesday, Mar. 9. Written test on all previous work.

Wednesday, Mar. 10. Lecture V.

### Fifth week.

Monday, Mar. 15. Lecture VI.

Tuesday, Mar. 16. Lecture VII, first half.

Wednesday, Mar. 17. Lecture VII, conclusion.

### Sixth week.

Monday, Mar. 22. Rob., 148 to 152 + Emerton, 141, last paragraph, to 143, end of first para. + 145, mid-



dle, to 162 + Rob., 153 + Emerton, 185, last paragraph, to 199, middle.

Tuesday, Mar. 23. Emerton, 199 to 204, end of first paragraph, + 212 to 255 — (middle of 233 to bottom of 237). Omit last paragraph of 238.

Wednesday, Mar. 24. Rob., 169, paragraph 65 to 172 + Emerton, 271 to 274 + 282, middle, to 312.

#### Seventh week.

Monday, Mar. 29. Bryce, 179 to 203 — footnotes + Emerton, 314 to 327, first para., + Emerton, 332 to 342, middle.

Tuesday, Mar. 30. Emerton, 342, middle, to 356 + Bryce, 211 (end) to 228.

Wednesday, Mar. 31. Written test on all work since previous test.

#### Eighth week.

Monday, Ap. 5. Lecture VIII.

Tuesday, Ap. 6. Emerton, 358 to 397.

Wednesday, Ap. 7. Freeman, 1 to 19 + 24 + 50 to 58 (omit Chap. V, paragraphs 12, 13) + pp. 63 to 83.

#### Ninth week.

Monday, Ap. 12. Vacation.

Tuesday, Ap. 13. Vacation.

Wednesday, Ap. 14. Freeman, 83 to 91 + 118 to 149 (omit pp. 121 to 124 and in Chap. XIII, paras. 1, 2, 5, 6) + Hutton, King and Baronage, 7 to 15.

#### Tenth week.

Monday, Ap. 19. Hutton, King and Baronage, 15 to 52.

Tuesday, Ap. 20. Hutton, King and Baronage, 52 to 90.

Wednesday, Ap. 21. Hutton, King and Baronage, 90 to 112 + Rob., 120 to 125 + Hutton, Philip Augustus, 1 to 14.

#### Eleventh week.

Monday, Ap. 26. Rob., 125, paragraph 49, to 128, para. 50, + Hutton, Philip Aug., 112 to 147.

Tuesday, Ap. 27. Hutton, Philip Aug., 147 to 161 + 164 to 169 + 179 to 180 (middle) + 214, last para., to 228 + Rob., 128 to 132.

Wednesday, Ap. 28. Lecture IX.

Twelfth week.

Monday, May 3. Written test on all work since last test.

Tuesday, May 4. Lecture X.

Wednesday, May 5. Emerton, 509 to 540 — (512 to middle of 519) + Rob. 233 to 249.

Thirteenth week.

Monday, May 10. Lecture XI.

Tuesday, May 11. Emerton, 541 to 581 — (572, last paragraph, to middle of 576).

Wednesday, May 12. Lecture XII.

Fourteenth week.

Monday, May 17. Emerton, 436 to 476.

Tuesday, May 18. Lecture XIII.

Wednesday, May 19. Rob., 277 to 302 + Seignobos, 192 to 204.

Fifteenth week.

Monday, May 24. Seignobos, 211 to 231 + Rob., 303 to 320.

Tuesday, May 25. Lecture XIV.

Wednesday, May 26. Robinson, 321 to 352.

## DATES.

Where several dates are given in one bracket, only the heavily printed one need be memorized. The other events are to be remembered with it, as occurring about the same time.

### I. ANCIENT HISTORY.    B. The Teutonic Age.

Alaric takes Rome **410** }  
Innocent I Pope }

Saxons attack Britain 449 }  
Battle of Châlons **451** }  
Leo the Great is Pope }

Baptism of Clovis **496** }  
Theoderic receives the purple from Constantinople 498 }

Justinian Emperor **527 to 565** }  
Rule of St. Benedict }

Gregory the Great becomes Pope **590**

Mohammedans checked by civil war 644 }  
Death of Dagobert **638** }  
Synod of Whitby 664 }

Battle of Tours **732**

Charlemagne Emperor of the West **800** }  
Ægbert King in England 802 }

## II. MEDIAEVAL HISTORY.

## A. The early Mediaeval Age.

Treaty of Verdun **843** }  
 Vikings make a winter camp (France) 850 }  
 Vikings make a winter camp (England) 855 }  
 Nicholas the Great becomes Pope 858 }

Alfred the Great dies 901 }  
 Monastery of Cluny founded 909 }  
 Rollo takes Normandy as a fief **911** }  
 Henry I (The Fowler) becomes King of Germania 918 }

Octavian elected Pope at nineteen (John XII) 955 }  
 Otto the Great crowned Emperor **962** }

Hugh Capet crowned King of France **987** }  
 Edgar crowned King of England 973 }

Council of Sutri **1046**

William the Conqueror lands **1066** }  
 Canossa **1077** }

Accession of Louis VI (Francia) 1108 }  
 Accession of Henry I (England) **1100** }  
 Jerusalem taken by Crusaders 1099 }

Concordat of Worms **1122**

St. Bernard's Crusade defeated 1149 }  
 Frederick Barbarossa accedes 1152 }  
 Louis VII of France divorces Eleanor }  
 Henry II accedes (England) 1154 }

Scene at Venice after Legnano 1177 }  
 Death of Thomas a'Becket 1170 }  
 Philip II Augustus accedes (France) 1180 }

Crusade takes Constantinople 1204 }  
 Innocent III Pope 1198 to 1216 }  
 Frederick II (The Magnificent) crowned 1212 }  
 Magna Carta 1215 }

Frederick the Magnificent dies 1250

Charles of Anjou kills Conradin 1268 }  
 St. Louis dies on Crusade 1270 }  
 Edward I (English Justinian) accedes 1272 }  
 Thomas Aquinas dies 1274 }

The Model Parliament 1295 }  
 Philip IV (the Handsome) and Council of France 1302 }  
 Scene at Anagni 1303 }

## B. The Later Mediæval Age.

Papacy at Avignon 1309 to 1377  
 Edward III King of England 1327  
 Peace of Bretigny 1360  
 Battle of Agincourt }  
 Council at Constance } 1415  
 Turks take Constantinople  
 End of Hundred Years' War bet. France & England } 1453  
 Columbus discovers America 1492 }  
 Charles VIII of France invades Italy 1494. }

A list of readings on the various topics of the course which the student will find profitable and interesting.

It is an excellent plan for the student of Latin, French or German to do some historical reading in the language he is studying. The instructors of this course will be glad to suggest to anyone who asks, readings in these languages. Weeks.

1. Roman Imperialism, by J. R. Seeley. Three essays, 65 pages.  
Epochs of Ancient History, The Early Empire. W. W. Capes. 225 pages.  
The Age of the Antonines, by W. W. Capes. 210 pages.  
Mommson, Provinces of the Roman Empire. First 70 pages. Tells about the northern limes.
2. Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire, by Samuel Dill. Especially pages 227 to 281.  
Theoderic, by Hodgkin.
3. Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders. Vol. IV. Chapter XVI. On St. Benedict. Lane Poole, Speeches and Table Talk of Mahomet.  
Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Chapter L, 110 pages (on Mahomet).
- 4, 5. Mombert, Life of Charlemagne.  
Hodgkin, Charles the Great.  
Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools. West.
6. Oman, The Dark Ages, 476 to 918. (Also on previous topics.)  
The Viking Age. Paul du Chaillu.  
Keary, The Vikings in Western Christendom.  
Milman, History of Latin Christianity. Book V, chapters XII, XIII, XIV, 60 pages.
7. History of the English People, by J. R. Green, pages 1 to 105.
8. Epochs of Modern History. The Crusades. G. W. Cox (215 pages).

- Bemont and Monod, *Mediaeval Europe*. Chapters XXI, XXII (40 pages).  
Stanley Lane Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem*.
9. For the relations of the Church and the Empire students are strongly advised to read Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire, through the Fall of the Hohenstaufen* (about 200 pages).
  10. *England under the Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate. 2 vols.: especially Chapter I.  
Ramsay, Sir J. H. *The Angevin Empire*.
  11. Bemont and Monod, *Mediaeval Europe*. On French Royalty. 391 to 444.  
Guizot, *Essays*. St. Louis.  
Joinville. *Memoirs of Louis IX*.
  - 12, 13. On the Church and other Mediaeval Institutions.  
Emerton, *Mediaeval Europe*.  
Munro and Sellery, *Mediaeval civilization*.  
Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*.  
Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*.  
On Cities and Trade.  
Bemont and Monod, *Mediaeval Europe*, 374 to 390.  
Gibbons, H. de B. *History of Commerce in Europe*, pages 1 to 92.
  14. Reginald Lane-Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*.

## LECTURE I.

### The Empire of Rome.

Connection between the Roman Empire and the history of Western Europe.

Unchangeable things on a map. Changeable things. Cities, their comparative permanence.

Political boundaries shifting. Illustration of the state.

Map 100 B. C. The band of colour around Mediterranean. Marks extension of political power of people who lived on slopes of Apennines. Their best quality love of law. Their evil qualities—pride, greed, cruelty. Roman slavery. Mommsen on. The Amphitheatre. Financial oppression. Why they conquered Mediterranean shores. Conquest ruin of Republic. Greed increased by conquest. Republican government could conquer world, but neither rule nor defend it. Romans made temporary dictators to meet internal and external dangers to state.

Marius beat robbers of South and North. Crassus—servile insurrection. Pompey—pirates and attacks from East. Julius Caesar hardest task. Defended western end of Mediterranean by carrying the eagles to the Atlantic. Forces appointment as dictator for life. Assassinated by Republicans.

His nephew Augustus (adopted son) begins Empire in 29 B. C. His power and titles. Imperator-Princeps. Sacrifice to Emperor as the Genius of Rome. Apotheosis.

The Principate, what it was. Absolutism veiled under forms of Republic.

Its objects, defence and peace. How attained.

A. Keeping barbarians out of Empire.

(1) The new army.

(2) The *limes*. Why conquests pushed back from fertile mountain slopes of the coast. Julius' advice and Augustus' disaster. The line, object, and nature of the *limes*. Cities which grew from camps. Restrictions on passing *limes*.



Defense of. Guarded for four hundred years. The limes planned by Augustus limits stage of history in Europe till 16th century.

B. Peace by wise government.

When Principate established government of Rome very bad. *c. g.*, Cicero against Verres. The saying about three fortunes.

Beneficent effects of Principate. Reform—Unity of feeling. Claudian: "Rome cherished the human race under the common name of mother, called her conquered foes, citizens and bound the ends of the world together by affection." Mommsen says that the lands included in the Roman Empire have never been so well governed as they were for the greater part of the second century. Tertullian, one of the Christians persecuted by the government, thought that if the barbarians should destroy Rome the end of the world would immediately follow. At 180, Roman Empire fell into long series of disorders. Nineteen men claim purple at once. The limes is broken. Saved by five soldier emperors. Diocletian and Constantine, to prevent such dangers, change Principate to Eastern despot, suppress local government, create three hierarchies. This reorganization maintained peace until the death of Theodosius the Great 395. Then occurred tremendous changes, *mistakenly* called the destruction of the Roman Empire by the barbarians.

## LECTURE II.

### The Barbarian Migrations.

#### I. THE BREAKING OF THE LIMES.

The so-called fall of the Empire, in the fifth century, was really a part of a great series of migrations.

Migrations into this country, etc. Every year we receive about the number Alaric led into Italy.

Cause of 5th century migrations same as ours; but, (1) emigrants came into Empire as organized peoples; (2) expected to get better living by sword instead of spade.

Two classes of these armed immigrants.

A. *Barbari*. Hostile to civilization and religion of the Romans. Example, the Huns.

B. Most of immigrant tribes more civilized than our Indians. No coinage, art or literature, but political organization. Certain qualities not inferior to Romans. (a) No more cruel. Examples of Roman cruelty. (b) Ability of leaders. Romans called these leaders *Semi-barbari*. (c) Their purpose expressed by Athaulf, Alaric's successor, who married Emperor's daughter: "At first I ardently desired that the Roman name should be obliterated and that . . . Romania should become Gothia and Athaulf be what Caesar Augustus was. But I have been taught by much experience, that the unbridled license of the Goths will never admit of their obeying *laws*. And, without laws, a state is not a state. I have therefore chosen the safer course of aspiring to the glory of restoring and increasing the Roman name by Gothic vigour; and I hope my name will be handed down to posterity as the initiator of a Roman restoration."

II. DURING CENTURIES WHEN BARBARI TRIED TO DESTROY, AND SEMI-BARBARI TO GET A SHARE IN, THE EMPIRE, IT BROKE IN TWO.

Line of cleavage determined by political arrangements. (Retrospect. The four prefectures. The new capitol).

Differences between the two eastern and two western prefectures. (a) Speech—east, Greek; west, Latin. (b) Blood. Levantine stock = Greek + Asiatic + Egyptian. Roman stock. Teuton + Italian + Celt. (c) Religion. Patriarch and Pope. But in spite of these things, sense of unity not entirely lost. Even Charlemagne acknowledged superior dignity of Emperor at Constantinople.

### III. THE GREAT FIGHT TO PRESERVE THE INHERITANCE OF ROME.

A. (Note to be used if student finds it useful.) A suggested arrangement of stages of struggle from 410 to 900 +. If we look at this long struggle of five centuries between those inside and outside the Roman Empire, we see very clear stages of it. (1) In the fifth century, the fighting line stretched from east to west and the attack came from the north. The outsiders turned the Roman flanks. The barbari (the Saxons) got a lodgment in Britain, whence they were never driven. The barbari, the Vandals and others, went through the left flank, got a position at the Roman rear in Africa and held it for a hundred years. (2) In the second stage, the Barbari within and without (the Huns and Vandals) tried to cut the Roman line in two. The Huns took Aquileia and the Vandals Rome, but the Semi-barbari (the Franks and Visigoths), who had won a share in the Empire in the first stage, stood by the Romans, and the Barbari were driven over the Alps and the seas. (3) In the third stage the fighting line ran north and south. The Graeco-Romans fought Barbari and Semi-Barbari. Justinian destroyed the Vandal and the Ostrogoth, though they were backed by the Frank and the Visigoth. And once more the Roman really ruled the entire shore of the Mediterranean (middle of sixth century). But immediately he was again (4th stage) attacked from the north. The barbarous Lombard rushed down into Italy and divided Italy with the Graeco-Roman; while the semi-barbarous Frank and Visigoth looked on. He divided Italy with the Graeco-Roman, because (5th stage) new outsiders broke into the Empire from the East. In the seventh century the barbari (the Arabs) swept the whole

southern and western shore of the Mediterranean, beating Romans and Visigoths. By the eighth century, the fighting line again stretched east and west. The Christians; the Frank, the, by this time, semi-barbarous Lombard and the Graeco-Roman, held the north shore of the Mediterranean. The Mohammedans held the south. The Mohammedans held an advanced post, Spain, at the west end; the Christians, Asia Minor, at east end. The Graeco-Roman beat the Mohammedan back from Constantinople (siege raised 718). The Frank drove him back across the Pyrenees (Tours 732). The two ends of the Roman Empire had now completely broken apart. And each of them, in the sixth stage, waged its own fight. From Asia and from their strongholds in the southern Mediterranean, the Mohammedans attacked the Eastern Empire. In the west, Charles the Great and his successors, having subdued the Lombards and re-established a Western Empire, fought successfully Normans, Saxons, Hungarians and Mohammedans who swarmed into the Empire from north, east and south.

B. The importance of this struggle to preserve the tradition of Roman law and religion against the barbari. Success meant the difference between Asia and Europe and America. That is why Princeton University thinks that every highly educated man should know something of Latin.

#### IV. WHY THE ARMED MIGRATIONS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY SUCCEEDED IN BREAKING THE LIMES.

Long answer summarized under A. B. A. Empire weaker. (1) Weaker in men. Plague under Marcus Aurelius (165 A. D.). Empire never recovered population. Reasons. (a) Slave labour ruined small farmer. (b) Moral rottenness. Naples museum. Roman literature. Salvian. St. Jerome. (2) Weaker in money. (a) Effects. Could not go on hiring soldiers. (Expedient of issuing bonds might have kept limes much longer.) (b) Causes. Roman ignorant in finance. In fourth century, currency depreciated, expense increased, civil hierarchy grew corrupt in spite of burning peculators at the stake. Hence heavy taxation. Burden of

this increased by method of collection. Municipia made mere tax collecting bodies. A curial = anybody not of senatorial rank who owned 15 acres or more of land. Curials of district made liable for gross tax of district. Roman wealth from land. Middle class crushed. Curials vainly tried to escape by becoming artisans or coloni. Pressure of taxes on middle class ruined Empire. (3) Citizens less brave and loyal. Small farmers filled legions that conquered the world. Ranks now filled by half slaves or hired savages. "The wolves of Romulus and the sheep of Arcadius." Invaders outnumbered but inhabitants refused (206) call to defend country. (a) Long forbidden to bear arms. (b) Unpatriotic. Reasons. Reforms of Diocletian increased efficiency, but most efficient government for a time not always best in the end. Steps in decline of government. (1) Emperor more control but inhabitants of localities no control. (2) Bureaucracy grew too strong for Emperors. (3) Graft, tyranny, laziness. Roads and public works fell into decay—brigands swarmed—army a fraud. Sidonius' remark. Priscus' story of a Roman citizen who joined Huns.

B. Assailants stronger than ever before. (1) Fear of Huns. (2) Learned war from Romans. (3) Empire Orientalized by Diocletian and Germanized by others. German soldiers and settlers. (4) Armed immigrations all invited into Empire as allies of some person or faction.

Migrations by which those outside Empire broke into it, came, not as a sudden flood, but rather as the result of slow decay and long infiltration.

## LECTURE III.

### What the Semi-barbari, Romans, and barbari were doing from the days of Alaric to the middle of the Seventh Century.

#### I. THE SEMI-BARBARI.

A. The unsuccessful ones. Two things hampered efforts of those semi-barbari who tried "to restore the Roman world by Gothic vigour." (1.) Social and political habits and instincts of their people (explain later). (2) Differences of opinion about religion. (a) All the invading tribes of 5th and 6th centuries Christian except Huns, Saxons, etc. ("Christian"—meaning of in this connection.) Respected churches, e. g., Alaric at Rome. (b) But heretics. Heresy considered by clergy worst wickedness. Bitter hatred of orthodox for heretics.

B. Most successful of semi-barbari were the Frank Clovis and his descendants (called Merovingians). Consider about them 1, 2, 3. (1.) Their conquests authorized by Emperor at Constantinople with title of Consul. Sons and grandsons made Eastern boundary, Elbe and line drawn from its head waters almost to Adriatic; Southern boundary Alps and Pyrenees; Western, the ocean. Tried to imitate Roman governmental machinery. Used Latin. Employed Roman inhabitants. Never took title of Emperor. (2) But in this attempt "to restore Roman name by Gothic vigour" hampered by social and political habits and feelings of people. Lacked idea of a body politic—the State. Ideas personal. Clovis divided kingdom among sons like a private estate. Hence tendency to break to pieces. The lines of cleavage. Neustria, Austria, Aquitania, Burgundy. Twice checked. Lothaire I about 550. Lothaire II about 600. Under Dagobert his son, who died in 638, power of Merovingians reached height.

(3.) These Merovingians succeeded better than other semi-barbari in restoring "Roman Empire by Gothic vigor," because free from obstacle of hatred between orthodox and heretic. Clovis worst in character of all semi-barbari up to this time, but wife, who led him to baptism, was orthodox. Hence (a) Emperor sanctioned his victory over the authorized but heretic Visigoth and Burgundian. (b) Ecclesiastical hierarchy supported instead of opposing him. This friendship of clergy of greatest importance to rulers of Franks. Finally enabled Charlemagne to do what no other semi-barbarus had done. In order to understand importance of support of ecclesiastical hierarchy consider:

## II. WHAT ROMANS OF WESTERN EUROPE WERE DOING FROM ALARIC TO MIDDLE OF SEVENTH CENTURY.

Most remarkable thing was upbuilding of Roman Church. Look at this achievement under A, B, C.

A. Religious influence of the clergy. Always continued great. If Church corrupt at any time, world more corrupt. Whole body of clergy never forgot ideal at any one time. Its own members always reformed its corruptions. Clergy could not stop moral decay of fourth century, but checked it. Stood for an ideal. Last of great emperors, Theodosius (395), had to bow before. Story of Ambrose and Theodosius. Master of the legions gave way to the representative of unseen world. Power of righteousness.

B. This influence of clergy increased by spread of ascetic ideal of life. (1.) Derivation of ascetic. Historic beginning of ascetic life probably from an ideal not Christian, i. e., that the body, like all matter, is evil. Probably eastern origin Hindu fakeer. (2.) First form of ascetic life, hermits. e. g., St. Simeon Stylites. (Compare Tennyson's poem.) (3.) This pagan idea modified into Christian idea of subduing body to save soul. Popularized in West by St. Jerome. Why it spread. Evilness of the times. Companies of pious men withdrew from world to save their souls. (4) The rule of living made by Benedict of Nursia (526) for such a company who gathered round his cave in Monte Cassino. Rule widely adopted. At death of Dagobert

lands of empire dotted with monasteries. (5.) These monks not priests but increased influence of religion. Their religion superstitious, e. g., St. Gregory's life of St. Benedict. But lives taught repentance and coming judgment, e. g., Benedict's rebuke of Totila. For six centuries monks increased. Monk one of three characteristic figures of middle ages. Judgment on monks. Their great services in the past.

C. Romans built up church in this period by increasing authority of Bishops of Rome. (1.) Authority of Bishops of Rome. Not as great for first centuries as later. Uncertainty of list of Popes for first two centuries. In fourth century, Roman Bishops not most noted churchmen. But from Innocent I were. Authority grew (see Emerton.) (2.) These popes who formed papacy, of Roman stock. Hence some truth in saying: "Papacy is ghost of Roman empire sitting crowned on the grave thereof." (3.) Greatest of these men was Gregory the Great. Probably first monk to become pope. Monks left cells to save world. Their two-fold task. (a) Saved remnants of Roman civilization and spread Christianity outside of empire. (b) Realized and preserved idea of papacy as viceregent of God. e. g., Gregory the Great in both tasks. (a) Decline of learning after beginning of migration. Marked inferiority of Gregory and other monkish writers to Cicero and Augustin; but lights in darkness. (b) 600 A. D.. About half of Western Europe still pagan. Ancient province of Britain still pagan. How it had become so. The mission to Britain. The story of slaves in Roman market. The mission of Augustin. Condition in which he found Britain. *Political. Religious.* Romano-British inhabitants and Saxon conquerors. Irish missionaries. These conditions troubled Roman missionaries. Penda's death. Synod of Whitby. Results: (1) Spiritual unity among Saxon tribal kingdoms. (2.) Britain brought back to connection with civilized world, i. e., Roman world.

II. WHAT THE BARBARIAN WAS DOING FROM ALARIC TO MIDDLE OF SEVENTH CENTURY.



Sudden appearance in seventh century of a great Mohammedan politico-religious federation. A. The foundation. Unlike the papacy founded by one man. Condition of Arabia at beginning of seventh century. The 360 images at Mecca. Mohammed belonged to Hanifs, a sect believing in one God too great for public worship. His fasts in the wilderness. His visions. Begins to teach as prophet. After eleven years, 314 disciples in arms. Power of his teaching shows at first battle. When he died, a few years before Dagobert, all Arabia said; "There is but one God and Mahomet is his prophet."

B. Its expression. The two first Califs, early disciples of Mohammed, heads of religion and war chiefs of the confederate tribes of Arabia, conquered central Asia and the Nile Valley in twelve years.

C. Civil war checks conquests. After they had both died (644) green banner checked by civil war. For fifty years Mohammedanism hung like a terrible storm southwest of Roman world. In early years of eighth century storm broke. Constantinople and the Franks withstood it.

## LECTURE IV.

### **The importance of the reign of Charlemagne. Chivalry: the Normans.** (Remarks supplementary to Seignobos.)

The object of this course, is to suggest to you some idea of the way by which the Western European world of the second century, became the Western European world of the thirteenth century. In this change Empire of Charlemagne seems to be a turning point, *i. e.*, to come between two different stages of the process of change. Three considerations will perhaps make plain what I mean. I. A CONSIDERATION OF THE DIVISIONS OF HISTORY INTO PERIODS. (The instructors will explain the formal nature of all divisions into periods.) A convenient division of the history of western Europe, is to call the period before the Empire of Charlemagne, Ancient History; the period from the Empire of Charlemagne to the French invasion of Italy in 1494, Mediæval History; and the time since, Modern History. The Ancient History of this division, seems to me to fall naturally into two ages. A. The Roman age of Ancient European History (up to the fifth century). Under this head I have suggested to you the following facts, conditions and processes: (1) Western Europe of the second century, was divided between Roman civilization and Northern barbarism. (2) Civilization was nearly destroyed, in the third century, by quarrels among its defenders and attacks from barbarians. Diocletian saved the Roman world by Orientalizing the Principate (Empire) at the end of the third century. (3) This Orientalizing of the Empire, which saved it for a time, helped its decay.

B. Then begins (410) the Teuton age of the Ancient History of Western Europe. For four hundred years Teutons try "to restore the Roman state by Gothic vigor." (1) In the

fifth century, the semi-barbari wrest the control of Western Europe from the Romans and erect Teutono-Roman Kingdoms nominally under the Imperial authority. Franks, Visigoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Ostrogoths. (2) In the sixth century, Roman energy revived. Justinian regained partial control of Western Europe and Romans like Benedict and Gregory, built up the influence and authority of the Roman Church. (c) In the seventh century, the most dangerous barbarian migration tried to destroy the Empire. (d) In the eighth century the Franks beat back the Mohammedans, and became supreme between the Mediterranean and the North Sea, the southwestern corner of the Baltic and the northern end of the Adriatic. During this last age the Roman element in Western Europe had declined. Art, literature, government, law, religion were barbarized, and, when Charlemagne tried to become Roman Emperor in the West, he could not do it except in name. Charlemagne compared to Marcus Aurelius. Their worlds less like than the men. Second consideration.

II. AFTER CHARLEMAGNE'S DEATH WESTERN EUROPEAN WORLD BECAME STILL MORE UNLIKE WORLD OF ROMAN AGE.

A. It loses political unity. Condition of France in tenth century. In thirteenth century. Greatest influence in those political changes feudalism. Feudalism both an effect and a cause. Two marked stages of. (a) It was a method of social organization based on ownership of land, originating during decay of Merovingian and rise of Carolingian power. Charlemagne acknowledged its elements. (b) In ninth century, when Charlemagne's empire was going to pieces, it tended to become a method of government. Hence we see Charlemagne's empire a turning point.

III. Third consideration, etc. AFTER CHARLEMAGNE, WESTERN EUROPE BREAKS FORMALLY FROM EASTERN EMPIRE AND ROMAN CHURCH BECOMES, FOR THAT SECTION, SUCCESSOR TO ONE CHIEF FUNCTION OF ROMAN EMPIRE. Carrier of unity of Christendom. In mediaeval times, a sort of spiritual unity prevailed in spite of lack of political unity. Seen in Chivalry, Monasticism, the Crusades, Scholasticism, etc. All these de-

pendent, more or less, on influence of the Roman Church Catholic (or Universal). The use of Roman Empire by great semi-barbari who did not wish to submit to the effective control of the Emperors at Constantinople, was a little like the use of Roman Church by great mediaeval rulers who did not wish to submit to the effective control of the Pope at Rome.

I. One of the ideals and customs dependant on influence of Church, which show unity of mediaeval world in spite of political diversity, is CHIVALRY.

(a) Knight one of the three characteristic figures of the middle ages. (b) Why knighthood implied ownership of land. (c) Our inheritance from chivalric ideal, good and bad. (d) This means that practice of Knights did not always match chivalric ideal. Ruskin and Mark Twain. (e) We ought to reverence knight's ideal. Can be seen more clearly in poetry than in history. The Morte d'Arthur by Sir Thomas Mallory and Idylls of the King by Tennyson.

II. THE SPREAD OF FEUDALISM AND ITS CHANGE TO A METHOD OF GOVERNMENT, HELPED BY NEW BARBARIAN INVASIONS OF TENTH CENTURY.

Especially THE VIKINGS. Word. Boats. Courage. Close kinship of Baltic peoples. First Vikings. Their native love of fighting, greed of gold. Their cruelty: compared with Romans. The tradition of Charlemagne and first Vikings. During civil war before treaty of Verdun, took London and Paris. About 850 made pirate strongholds; usually on islands at mouth of river. Their method of fight. Vikings only dangerous for lack of strong leaders against them. Need of an Emperor to hold the limes and maintain peace. This plundering finally ceased because Vikings, both in England and France, changed from barbari to semi-barbari. Ceased to be pirates seeking fighting and gold, became settlers seeking homes. Guthrum in England. Rollo in France. 911. Rollo's followers and their descendants, quickly took language, feudal-

ism, literature, art and church from the descendants of the Franko-Romans.

Introductory note to Lectures V. VI, VII.

A suggested means of memorizing the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation during the tenth, eleventh and part of the twelfth century.

Conrad I, Duke of Franconia, transmitted the crown of Germania to the Saxon dynasty; a father, son, grandson and great-grandson; Henry I and three Ottos. Under the former pair of rulers the authority of the King-Emperor increased; under the latter pair it diminished.

Then Henry II, Duke of Bavaria, transmitted the crown to the Franconian dynasty; a father, son, grandson and great-grandson; Conrad II and three Henrys. Under the former pair, authority of throne increased; under the latter pair, it declined.

Then Lothaire II transmitted crown to the House of Hohenstaufen.

## LECTURE V.

### Nicholas the Great. Henry I (the Fowler) and the Revival of Germania. The Pornocracy. Otto the Great and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

#### I. LATTER HALF OF NINTH CENTURY AN AGE OF DIS- ORDER AND MISERY.

Emperors still wore the crown but the Empire, the guarantee of peace and order, was only an idea in people's minds.

#### II. ATTEMPTS TO STEM TIDE OF DISINTEGRATION AND DIS- ORDER.

A. Unsuccessful attempt of the church. (1) Weakness of Empire opportunity of Church. Church one common institution to which all civilized men, north of Pyrenees and west of Adriatic, belonged. (2) Papacy assumes authority to meet the situation. A new idea of Pope's authority arose. (Like change made by Diocletian when he Orientalized the Princeps-Emperor.) At end of sixth century, Gregory the Great was the first of the bishops; in a sense "primus inter pares." Provincial synods settled local affairs. About middle of ninth century, Popes claim that the Church depends on the Papacy, and that the throne of St. Peter is the Judgment Seat for the world. (b) Some men who put forth this idea wanted it to seem older than it was. The forged Pseudo-Isidorean collection of Decretals. (So called because collection falsely attributed to Isidore bishop of Seville, a contemporary of Gregory the Great.) Includes false Donation of Constantine. (c) Nicholas the Great (Pope 858-867) asserted this idea most sharply. His contest with Lothair King of Lorraine. Lothair's fever in Rome. The great prelates of Lorraine—their protests against new idea of Papal authority. Their submission. Nicholas claimed Popes granted power to Emperors by crowning. His pontificate thus summed up by a chronicler: "Since

the days of Gregory to our time, sat no high priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to Nicholas. He tamed kings and tyrants and ruled the world like a sovereign." (d) But soon after Nicholas died, lack of Imperial power the Papacy had helped to weaken, destroyed its influence. Feudal nobles of Italy, unrestrained by any powerful overlord, (a) plundered the Patrimony of St. Peter (instructors will explain). (b) Then they seized papal tiara for its wealth and power. *e. g.* The pope carried from the altar. The trial of body of dead pope. His successor and judge strangled in prison. (c) *The pornocracy* (Theodora and Marozia) culminating in Octavian pope at nineteen in 755. Violence which had destroyed empire threatened to destroy papacy.

B. The universal institutions, the empire and the papacy, being helpless to maintain law or order in Christendom, the heads of two local institutions began to stem tide of violence and misery. About year 900, there arose, in two parts of Christendom, men strong enough to add to the name of King the power to maintain order. In England and in Germany, a father and son imitated, under different conditions, the work of Charlemagne. All four of these men—Alfred and Edward—Henry and Otto were great, but only Alfred and Otto have received the title. ENGLAND. For Alfred the Great see Besant. Edward was said to be "less learned—equal in worth and of greater glory than his father." He was first ruler in the island to be called King of the English. His grandson Edgar was crowned, in 973, King of England, by a ceremony imitating the Imperial coronation. Eight tributary Kings of Britain were said to have rowed the barge he steered, and the King took Imperial titles. GERMANY. In 918 Germania, one of the four or five kingdoms into which Empire was divided (kingdoms ruled by kings under a nominal emperor) began to have an efficient government. (1) Retrospect. Miserable condition of Kingdom. Pagan tributary states of eastern border attacking. (a) Arnulf's brave fight up to 899. (b) Lewis the child. Nobles wanted weak throne. The Magyars. Their attack on Italy

899. Their attack on Germania. New petition in litanies of Germania and Italia: "From the fury of the Magyar Good Lord deliver us." Bishop of Constance on situation: "The Germans are all fighting each other. Neighbour fights neighbour in the country. In the cities riot rages. The sickly child who bears the name of King cannot draw the sword to enforce law and justice." Hence commendations of free-men to nobles. (c) Condition so bad, nobles forced to crown a strong man to succeed Lewis the Child. But Conrad I could not keep order or beat Magyar. On his deathbed he said to his brother, "We lack luck and the right policy. Take the sword and crown to Henry Duke of Saxony."

(2) Reign of Henry. In 918 Henry I (the Fowler). (a) Conrad had tried to restore centralized empire of Charlemagne. Henry tried to make feudalized kingdom. Did not try to destroy power of four great Dukes, but made responsible for order. (b) Makes them obey. Fighting nobles respected victor in war above all men. If Magyars beaten, Henry would be real overlord of Germany. But did not plunge into war. Agreed to tribute for nine years. Spent in preparation. Cavalry. Borrowed idea of Edward against Danes. Built border castles. Cities; increase of, among Germans. Inhabitants. At end of nine years Magyars invaded. Victory of Henry. Hailed as "Father of the Fatherland."

(3) His son Otto the Great. (a) Otto keeps the limes. The Battle of Lechfeld (near Augsburg). The last barbarian host able to penetrate into heart of Empire. Hailed as Kaiser (Caesar); Imperator (defender of Christendom). (b) Unites Italia and Germania and restores Empire. (1) His title. As Imperator led knights over Alps. Married widow of King of Italia. Freed Church from oppression. Crowned Emperor of Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in 962. (2) His realm larger than Charlemagne. Larger than any Roman Emperor of west. Acknowledged as overlord in Francia. Made up in East what lacked in West. (3) Power as King of Germania base of power as Emperor. A feudal kingdom, but he concentrated power in his own family. He was Duke of



Saxony and Duke of Franconia. Brother—Bavaria. Son—Suabia. Son-in-law—Lotharingia. Son, brother and cousin held archbishoprics of Mainz, Treves and Cologne. (4) Reform of papacy. Otto relied on Church and found best helpers among clergy. Therefore wanted Pope who understood spiritual duties of his office. Called council and deposed Octavian (John XII). But only sword could keep on the throne a pope free from tyranny of feudal Roman barons. Temporal dominion of Pope has always been the greatest hindrance to their spiritual duties. Sword of Ottos did keep Papacy somewhat free from tyranny of Italian tyrants or local Roman politics.

III. WE HAVE SEEN, THEN, THAT DATES CLUSTERED AROUND 918 MARK A TURN IN TIDE OF HISTORY.

After Charlemagne, increasing disorder reaching anarchy, helped by boats of Vikings and ponies of Magyars. Christendom rallied under Alfred (died 901) and Edward in England. Henry (918) and Otto in Germania. And, even in Francia, we have seen Rollo, in 911, turning from pirate into settler.

## LECTURE VI.

### The Church and the Empire from the Death of Otto the Great to the Papacy of Hildebrand.

I. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION OTTO FOUNDED, WAS NOT AS STRONG AS IT SEEMED.

Reasons. A. It rested on the Dukes, jealous of royal power.

B. It bound Italia to Germania and Italians hated Germans.

C. It rested on the Church. And wherever the Church grew strong by imperial protection, Popes resented imperial control.

#### II. OTTO THE GREAT MET THESE DANGERS.

No ruler as able and powerful from Theodosius to end of the tenth century; except Charlemagne and Alfred.

III. SON AND GRANDSON (OTTO II AND OTTO III) TOO IMPERIAL AND TOO LITTLE GERMAN.

Otto III promoted election of German Pope. For six hundred years previous, only one Pope born out of Italy. For two hundred and fifty years, only two born out of immediate neighbourhood of Rome. But, while younger Ottos planned to rule world from Rome, they lost control of German kingdom.

IV. THEREFORE TWO SUCCESSORS LEFT PAPACY AND ITALIA LARGELY TO THEMSELVES AND BUILT UP AGAIN POWER OF THRONE IN GERMANIA.

Result. Papacy again prize of local Roman politics. Pornocracy renewed. Younger branch of family of Theodora and Marozia. (Counts of Tusculum.) Used bribery rather than violence. Papacy again appanage of a great family. Offices of Patrician and Pope kept in family. Culminated in Benedict IX, Pope at twelve. His wickedness. Romans expel him and elect Sylvester III. Benedict's brother, the Patrician, brought him back by force. Benedict

sells Papacy to Gregory VI. Benedict's brother again reinstates him. The three cursing and fighting Popes.

#### V. THE APPEAL OF HONEST CLERGY TO EMPEROR.

(1) Henry III. His piety. (2) His need of a reformed Papacy to help him in Germania—to help him in Francia and England. (3) The Synod of Sutri 1046. A German bishop, friend of Henry III, crowned Pope. Henry crowned Emperor same day. Beginning of an attempt to restore the Roman Church by Gothic vigor; somewhat analogous to the attempt of semi-barbari from 400 to 800. Papacy never relapsed into pornocracy. A succession of five German Popes.

Why this reform of Papacy successful in resisting relapse into pornocracy, when previous reforms of Ottos unsuccessful?

#### VI. REFORM IMPOSED BY EMPEROR NOW MET REFORM SPREADING FROM WITHIN.

A. The Cluniac Reform. (1) (Retrospect.) Corruption of many monasteries in ninth century. (2) 909 Monastery of Cluny founded to restore Rule of St. Benedict in its purity. Spread of branch convents. Influence of abbots of Cluny. (3) Greatest abbot, Odilo, held office for fifty years. Chief agent in arranging Truce of God in 1031. What it was. Odilo friend of Henry III. All over world monks anxious for reform of Church conferring every year with Odilo. These men and their friends helped the German popes, as much as the swords of the Imperial Knights, to hold their own against the greedy factions of Rome, seeking by force or fraud to control the wealth of the papal office. Two reforms, Imperial and Cluniac, finally united and broke pornocracy.

B. The ideal of men of Synod of Sutri. (1) The Pope—head of spiritual affairs of world and Emperor—defender of the Church and head of world in temporal affairs. (2) This ideal not new. The old mosaic of the Lateran which symbolized it. Three part of mosaic. Above, Christ sending out apostles to convert the world. Below, on one side, Christ commissioning Constantine and Pope to rule world. Other

side, St. Peter commissioning Charlemagne and Pope. Men who held this ideal thought of Christendom as a medal, with head of Pope on one side and Emperor on other. (3) Defect of this ideal that it could not be made to work for actual government of world. Reasons (a) (b) (c). (a) If Pope punished sins, must punish sins of kings and emperors. Results of expelling a sinful ruler from Church, made his office impossible for him. (b) Archbishops, bishops, abbots, had civil as well as spiritual power. Both clergymen and fiefholders. Were they the "men" of the pope or of their civil overlord? (c) These two difficulties would inevitably lead to the question of ultimate authority. Did Emperor appoint Pope or Pope crown Emperor? Two-headed Austrian eagle. Ablest and best popes and emperors most apt to quarrel.

#### VII. THE RISE OF THE TUSCAN MONK HILDEBRAND OF CLUNY TO INFLUENCE AT ROME.

A friend of Odilo. Monks had gone to cells to save souls. Odilo wanted them to come out to save world. Hildebrand's ideal for the Church A. B. C.

A. Purity. (1) His ideal affected by monastic ideals and habits. The religious and secular life = higher (monks) life and lower (ordinary Christian) life. Therefore clergy must be separate. Things sinful for them not sinful for others. (2) The triple vow of monk. Poverty, chastity (confused with celibacy), obedience. (3) These three monastic virtues threatened among the ordinary clergy by three customs. a. b. c. (a) Simony = buying church offices for wealth that went with them. Could have been readily stopped by surrender of vast property of Church. But this expedient not apt to occur to a monk. The barefooted, rope-girdled monk in the rich convent. Hildebrand wanted bishops of simple life, spending wealth of their dioceses for the Church. (b) Nicolaitism = marriage of clergy. Hildebrand fought for two reasons. Monk believed father of a family could not reach the highest holiness. Celibacy of clergy imposed by laws but not universally enforced. *e. g.*

Province of Milan. Possible relation of clerical marriage to Simony.

Both (a) and (b) related to (c). Obedience of clergy to superiors and Church. Hildebrand thought a man without care for property or family ties more apt to be entirely devoted to Church. No local interests, would obey Pope. Summary: Hildebrand wanted to purify Church by making clergy as much like monks as possible.

B. Hildebrand wanted pure Church to become INDEPENDENT. (1) Situation intolerable to him. Tacit acknowledgment by clergy at Synod of Sutri (1046) of Imperial right of nomination, or at least veto, in Papal elections. Emperor was the first layman of world. But Pope first clergyman. Impious to Hildebrand that higher should be chosen to offices by less holy. (2) But no premature assertion. Did not want to renounce control of Empire, until Church could stand without its support. Afraid of falling back into Pornocracy. Cautious procedure toward independence. Henry IV a child without authority over rebellious German nobles, but Hildebrand asked the Dowager Empress consent for the inauguration of three popes. (3) The third took significantly the name of Nicholas II (after Nicholas the Great 858). This second Nicholas made two moves toward independence. (a) New method of electing popes. Cardinals. Vague reference to imperial right of confirming election. (b) Nicholas secured defenders for Papacy against Roman barons. The Normans of Sicily. How they got there. The Norman knights of tenth century, roved from Rollo's dukedom over world. Like forefathers, sought in new ways gold and fighting. Hired swords to fight Saracens. Fiefs in Sicily. Formed feudal aristocratic confederation. Henry III and Popes had denied their title to their conquests. Leader now became "Duke by the Grace of God and St. Peter," a fiefholder of the Pope, whom he acknowledged as overlord of Italy. Three hundred Normans defended Nicholas II against anti-pope of the barons. (This is a counter-part of the papal confirmation in 1066 of the conquest of a larger island by William the Norman. But William

never acknowledged that Pope was overlord of England. That was left for his reckless descendant, John, 150 years later, when ideal of Hildebrand for papacy was triumphant in the world.) (4) Resistance to Hildebrand. His plans now suspected. Married clergy of North Italy and great prelates of Germania, rally against monks. Decree of a synod held at Rome: "The pope is elected by the help of Norman robbers and notorious bribery. Hildebrand, that son of Simon Magus, was the chief agent in this bargaining; for which both have incurred damnation." Anti-Monastic party set up anti-pope but Hildebrand's pope held his own. (5) At last Hildebrand chosen pope by acclamation. Induced the Empress Dowager to come to his inauguration. Took name of the Great Gregory (Gregory VII). Gregory VII went beyond Nicholas II. Began a struggle with Henry IV. (6) A great struggle—a gigantic battle of ideals which lasted two hundred years and ended in temporary dissolution of Imperial power and authority. The center of Mediaeval History There were, of course, during these two centuries, other institutions besides the Empire belonging to Christendom. On the west, were England, Francia, the five little kingdoms of North Spain. On the north, the Baltic or Scandinavian Kingdoms. On the east, the Duchy of Poland and the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bulgaria. On the south, Sicily and Naples. The Popes thought of themselves as head of these extra imperial kingdoms, whose crowns they assumed the right to give or take away. And at the height of their power, in early thirteenth century, vindicated this claim, to some extent. Then they crushed Empire and, at end of century, nominated the puppet emperors.

## LECTURE VII.

### The Struggle between the Church and the Empire.

#### I. WEAPONS OF THIS STRUGGLE.

In this gigantic struggle of 200 years,

A. Emperors relied on. (1) Unwillingness of German bishops to be controlled by Italian popes. (2) Roman nobles and faction of Roman people hostile to temporal power of popes. (3) Party in Italy which believed Popes ought to surrender wealth and attend to spiritual duties, leaving justice to emperors. Called Ghibellines (Emperor). Opponents called Guelfs (Pope). (4) The sword and spear of his knights.

B. Popes could rely on. (1) Rebellious feudal vassals of Emperors in Germania. (2) Help from extra imperial kingdoms; mainly the money he drew from them in ecclesiastical dues. But from Sicily and France soldiers. (2) The long road over the Alps and the fevers of Italia. (3) The dislike of some Italians to the rule of Germans. (4) Belief of most people in the world that he had the keys of heaven. Used by launching two sorts of curses. (a) The excommunication. Condemned a man to hell and as a result made him an outlaw. (b) The interdict. Suspended religious services in a given territory. Only population which seemed able to take these curses lightly, was the population of Rome.

#### II. CAUSE OF STRUGGLE.

The belief of Cluniac monks that Pope was supreme authority in the world over all things and persons. Different *occasions* for different stages. Struggle was intermittent.

#### III. OCCASIONS OF STRUGGLE.

A. First occasion of outbreak of this struggle caused by an ideal, was the question of investitures. Fought over for fifty years. (1) The question. Hildebrand had freed election of popes from lay control. Wanted to free elections to bishoprics, and abbacies of Italia and Germania from lay control. Symbolic form of question. The ring and staff who should give them? Pope or Emperor? These officials

belonged to two hierarchies. Fiefholders and clergymen. Was a bishop the Pope's "man" or the Emperor's? (2) The Struggle. Many kings and great vassals of extra imperial kingdoms used lay investiture. Papacy let alone for most part. Used all strength to break down imperial claims. Gregory's trumpet for the fight. Bade bishops refuse investiture. "Might of emperors and kings like ashes and chaff against right of apostolic throne." Henry's answer was to depose the Pope. Gregory deposed Henry IV. German bishops excommunicated Pope. (3) Victory for the Church. Cathedral struck by lightning. Excommunicator died. Horror and rebellion. Henry had to promise his vassals to get absolution from the Pope. *The scene at Canossa* 1076. (4) The struggle resumed. Empire holds its own. Henry breaks his promises. Anti-Pope and anti-Emperor. Henry beats rebels and takes Rome. Gregory flees to Sicily. Henry IV crowned Emperor by anti-Pope. Popes raise new rebellion against Emperor headed by Emperor's own sons. (Monks and family.) Henry held the throne until death. (5) Vain compromises and inconclusive struggles. Henry V. The attempted compromise by surrender of property of Church. If no fiefs, no question of investiture. Pope, bitterly reproached by clergy, revokes his oath. New rebellion and anti-popes. Just before death Henry V agrees to compromise. (6) Church wins in question of Investiture. *The Concordat of Worms*, 1122. Emperor gave, to God, St. Peter and Catholic Church, free election and investiture, and swore to protect Church of Rome in all things. Pope granted all elections in presence of imperial representative, and investiture with fiefs by touching the scepter. Seeming compromise a triumph for Church. A truce for life of two Emperors.

B. Second occasion of struggle, restoration of imperial control in Italia threatening temporal power of Pope. This stage to the death. Result extinction of imperial dynasty and suspension of authority of Emperor. (1) Frederick Barbarossa, of the new House of Hohenstaufen, the ablest and most powerful King of Germania since Otto the Great,



wrote to Pope that he hoped "to restore in its ancient vigour the Roman Empire." Just what the Pope did not want. Frederick I occupied fiefs of the Patrimony of St. Peter in Italia. The legate with reproachful letter. The legate's speech. "Beneficia." Restoration of imperial control in Italia meant weakening of temporal power of Pope in Patrimony of St. Peter. (2) Pope could back two opponents to that restoration of imperial control in Italia. (a) Fight between Frederick and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. (Title and crown given by Papacy.) (b) Cities of North Italy. (Retrospect. Classic civilization created by urban populations. Semi-barbari led tribes who were country dwellers. Cities therefore decayed after migrations. But this decay least marked in North Italy. And North Italian cities first to produce a new figure in mediaeval body politic, the burgher, or free citizen of a walled town, who was to beat knight in battle and rival noble in wealth. (More on burgher later.) By 1150, North Italian cities richer than surrounding nobles.) Jealous of restoration of imperial power. But, at first, more jealous of each other. The two leagues. Milan and anti-Milan. Anti-Milan calls Frederick I to Italia. Restores imperial authority and taxes, instates governors and destroys Milan. (3) The quarrel. The proud legate elected Pope (Alexander III.) Frederick I sets up an anti-pope and takes Rome. Alexander flees to France. Frederick excommunicated. Rebellion calls him back to Germania. (4) Guelfs revive in Italia, and form Lombard League. The fortress of Alexandria. (5) Church triumphs. The battle of Legnano (1076). The Caroccio of Milan. The scene at Venice (1077). The legend. (6) Frederick I turns to diplomacy. Marriage of his son Henry VI to heiress of Sicily. Henry VI regains control of fiefs of the Church.

C. Third occasion. The claims of the Pope and the Emperor. Frederick II (the Magnificent) heir to Sicily and Germania at three years of age. At same time Innocent III becomes pope. His claims. "God has given to St. Peter not only the government of the universal Church but also of the entire world." Most extra imperial kingdoms (pro

forma) acknowledge claim. Kings of Sweden, Denmark, England, Portugal, Aragon, Sicily, Hungary, Poland took an attitude more or less like that of John of England. Even Philip Augustus of France obliged by interdict to take back divorced wife. Council of Lateran 1215 united more than 1200 prelates. Determined to reform clergy and launch grand crusade of all Europe. Innocent III dies.

Up to the death of Innocent III, the grandson of Frederick Redbeard, Frederick II, seemed to admit the claim of Innocent that the power of the pope was supreme in the world. His mother left the infant Frederick II under the protection of Innocent III. The great pope faithfully supported the boy's right to the crown of Sicily. And the boy assumed it as a vassal of the pope. For fourteen years, civil war had been raging in Germany over the imperial crown. Innocent III had asserted his right to be supreme judge of the rival claims. Just before his death, he procured the election of Frederick to the empire. And, before long, Frederick II made plain that he did not propose to submit to the control of the papacy, by whose help he had gained the crowns of Sicily, Germany, Italy and the Empire.

Of these crowns, Frederick II set least store on the crown of the Empire; and next least on the crown of Germany. He was the first of all the rulers of the empire to escape from the power of the mediaeval idea, that it was possible to restore the power of the Caesars, or even of Charlemagne. He realized that the European world could not be reduced to a uniform condition. The policy with which he ruled in Sicily, was exactly the opposite of his policy in Germany. In the north, he abandoned the attempt of his predecessors to repress the tendency toward the independence of the great feudal lords. He confirmed the rights they claimed, gave them free hand, and tried to place on each of them the responsibility for preserving public peace in his own territories. He seemed content to have all the central authority which bound the estates of his great vassals together, relaxed. He was apparently willing to let Germania become a huge confederation of Princes, of which the King Emperor was the presiding head.

But he tried to apply to Sicily, the policy by which the kings of France and England had been trying, for more than a hundred years, to break down the power of the feudal nobles and rule their states from one center, in the name of one common law. He created a standing army and navy. He destroyed many of the feudal castles, forbade duels, condemned to death any one who began private war, took the right of criminal prosecution from the fiefholders, and appointed royal judges to travel about doing justice without charge to all men alike. He forbade all gifts or sales of land to the Church, took away the civil functions of the bishops and confined all the clergy to spiritual duties. He appointed royal governors for all cities.

It is easy to understand that such a policy, in Sicily, would arouse the fears of the Popes and the Lombard cities. What would become of the Patrimony of St. Peter and the self-government Milan and her allies had wrested from Frederick Redbeard, if his grandson should apply these ideas to central and north Italy?

It was long before the two forces came to a death grapple. But at last the Pope launched against Frederick the sentence of excommunication. The Emperor heard of it at Turin. He bade them open the treasury and bring out his crowns. Putting one on his head, he cried, "I have not yet lost my crowns and I will not without a bloody fight." The fight was bloody and for the Emperor it was a losing fight. The Pope proclaimed a crusade against him. None of the extra imperial kings would obey the call to make war on Frederick, but an anti-emperor rose in Germany and the Lombard cities renewed their league. He managed to hold his own until he died in 1250.

The fabric of his power went to pieces almost at once. His two sons and his grandson kept up the fight for Sicily until they perished in the struggle. The Imperial power ceased to exist. And what is spoken of by the historians as the Interregnum, occurred. Puppet emperors were set up by the German nobility: the Englishman Richard of Cornwall; the Spaniard

Alfonso of Castile. One never came to Germany; the other came only for a short visit. The Pope claimed, without rebuke, the right to direct the election of an emperor. In one case the Pope ordered the electors to choose an emperor or he and his cardinals would do it.

This great struggle between popes and emperors, not only destroyed the empire, it had a most unfortunate effect on the fortunes of the German and Italian kingdoms whose crowns the Emperor wore. All the present states of modern Europe had, by the end of the middle ages, achieved some sort of national unity except Germany and Italy. The chief reason for this delay and all the misery and blood it entailed, is the strife of Popes and Emperors. The chance for the establishment of common law and a king's peace in Germany and Italy, was lost in the struggle. For two hundred years after the death of Frederick there was no law in Germany to stop private war. Any feudal proprietor might revenge his real or fancied wrongs on any neighbour he thought he could beat. In Italy, the citizens of the Lombard cities, relieved from the imperial authority, gave themselves up to hate as a ruling passion. It reached among them a devilish intensity which seems to me unmatched in modern history. These cities, or the factions within them, grew ready to sacrifice anything in the world for the pleasure of vengeance on neighbours they disliked.

Several of the extra-imperial kingdoms escaped these worst results of feudal or municipal jealousy; notably the two most powerful, England and France. In these countries the sense of obligation to a nearby overlord had yielded, more or less, to a sense of loyalty to a king, who stood for the interests of the commonwealth. We must look to see what had been going on, first in England, and then in France, between the beginning of the tenth century, when the Normans and Hungarians were checked, and the end of the thirteenth, when the family of the Hohenstaufen perished. But before we do that we must consider a series of wars in which all Christendom, imperial and extra-imperial, had during these centuries, joined at the call of its head the Pope.

## LECTURE VIII.

### **The Crusades** (Remarks to Supplement Robinson Chapter XV.)

#### I. CRUSADES AND PAPAL INFLUENCE.

A. Crusades a strong proof of enormous influence of Papacy upon the minds of men of twelfth century. Emperors could not have launched, as the Popes did, between one and two millions of fighting men against Asia. Voice of Pope, voice of God. Idea not equally strong at all places and at all times. Strongest in Francia, weakest in Italia. Strongest between 1050 and 1150. After that Europe less and less ready to pour its fighting men upon Asia at word of Pope. After 1270 readiness gone. Pope vainly tried, for three hundred years, to launch another Crusade.

B. Voice of Pope most influential when he told men they ought to do what they wanted to do. *e. g.* German vassals. Lombard cities. A crusade appealed to tastes and habits of knights. Monotony of castle life relieved by hunting and fighting.

#### II. MOTIVES OF CRUSADERS.

A. Religion strongest motive. Crusades armed pilgrimages to atone for sins. *e. g.* Louis VII of France. Conrad III of Germania.

B. Secular motives. Crusades also migrations. A minority of the crusaders were not pilgrims but settlers. Two sorts of: nobles and traders. Founded kingdom of Jerusalem. Adopted Eastern habits, but kept feudal ideas. Hence private war and alliances with the infidel. Ruling class would have been killed off but for stream of recruits from Europe and intermittent crusades. (The numbering of the Crusades.)

### III. OCCASIONS OF CRUSADES.

A. The particular beliefs that caused crusades were that bones of saints had miraculous power, that prayers at sacred places had a better chance of being heard than prayers made elsewhere, that pilgrimages pleased God and atoned for sin. Pilgrimage; its enormous proportions in eleventh century.

B. Bad treatment by Turks but attitude of Mohammedans more tolerant than that of Christians would have been.

C. Idea of crusade old. Suggested to Otto III about 1000 by Pope. Christian zeal more cause than Mohammedan intolerance.

### IV. SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF CRUSADES.

The first crusade and the one usually called the sixth, were successful: First gained Jerusalem by war; the other regained by treaty. Other crusades failures—most of soldiers perished. But Jerusalem held for a hundred years. Fragments of kingdom for two hundred years more. Crusades, probably, delayed capture of Constantinople by Mohammedans for three hundred and fifty years.

### V. PART OF STORY OF FIRST CRUSADE AS EXAMPLE OF CRUSADER'S SPIRIT.

A. Lack of organization or skill.

French—not King. Pope and manor owners. No organization—no military science. Mohammedans weaker but abler. Christians won because of Mohammedan dissension.

B. Horrible sufferings of crusaders. Second wave of Crusade, estimated at four hundred thousand, lured into mountains of Asia Minor and massacred.

C. Antioch and the Holy Lance. Could not have taken Antioch but for food of Caucasians and instructions of Italian pirates. Its capture through treachery followed by their own investment by huge Mohammedan army. They offer to go home. Moslem answer "Death or Islam." Peter Bartholomew's dream. The Holy Lance. Victory. The ordeal of Peter.

D. Jerusalem. Take Jerusalem by assault (1099). Their piety. Their horrible cruelty. The burning of Jews. The blood in mosque of Omar.

VI. MOST SUBSEQUENT CRUSADES LED BY KINGS. SHOWED SUCH MILITARY SCIENCE AS WAS KNOWN.

Frederick Barbarossa as Crusader. Richard the Lion-hearted, of England, as Crusader.

VII. DECAY OF CRUSADING SPIRIT.

A. Innocent III launched three crusades. These made plain decay of crusading spirit.

B. Exploitation for worldly ends. (1) The fourth crusade hired by Venitians. Broke vow. Took Constantinople. (2) The horrible story of the Children's Crusade. The vision. The army of children. The King tries to stop. The Pope rather encourages. Fate of children. Punishment of scoundrels who exploited this superstitious zeal.

C. Frederick's success by lack of zeal. Frederick II the Magnificent (1215-1250) most successful of all leaders of Crusade. His familiar relations with Mohammedans. His diplomacy gets crown of Jerusalem. Horror excited by Frederick's friendly relations with infidels. Three times excommunicated.

D. Rebellious nobles of Kingdom of Jerusalem, encouraged by excommunication, plunder Egypt. Sultan retakes Jerusalem 1244.

E. St. Louis vainly tries to revive crusading spirit. Louis IX of France (St. Louis) attacks Egypt twice to force surrender of Jerusalem (1250 and 1270). Dismal failures. Prisoner on first: ransomed for 800,000 gold pieces. Died of pestilence in blockaded camp on second. Crusading impulse ended in defeat.

## LECTURE IX.

### Louis IX King of France. (St. Louis.)

I. Remarks on development of Kingdom of France.

A. Hugh Capet not king of France in 987.

B. Power of Capetian house did not change much for a hundred years after him.

C. During twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Kingdom of France developed.

Three means; fighting, organization, growth of loyalty. Bulk of fighting twelfth century. Other two mainly thirteenth. Philip II (Augustus) most conspicuous exponent of first means of making Capetian dynasty powerful kings. St. Louis most conspicuous exponent of other means.

II. Philip Augustus' son, Louis VIII, completes his father's work of conquest.

III. The Reign of Louis IX (St. Louis).

A. The regency of Blanche of Castile. The danger of a child's reign at that time. Hatred of barons. Attempted feudal reaction. Terrible sufferings of peasants in war. Triumph of queen regent. Louis at majority receives heritage of power undiminished.

B. The personal rule of Louis. Uses peace for organization. (1) His attitude toward cities. (a) opens careers in royal service to burghers. (b) But reign lessened political power of cities. Royal judges. Royal officials defend people against oligarchies of cities at cost of liberty. Interference in finances increasing debt. Liquidation obtained by surrender of charters. Result cities of France became largely royal. (2) Administrative reforms. Ordinance regulating bailiffs (baillis). Prohibition, etc. Superintendents ("righters of wrongs"). (3) Division of the royal council. (a) The King's council. (b) The chamber of accounts. The royal income. The reform of the currency. Scarcity of money relieved. Poor coinage repressed. Royal domain



open only to King's money. Royal coin made universal standard. (c) The Parlement. (*Digression.* The vulgar error of confusing the English Parliament and the French Parlement. Mentioned to call attention to a *rule* and a *warning*. The *rule*. Never try to cover ignorance with talk: use silence. The *warning*. The danger of drawing historical parallels too easily. The difference between surface appearance and reality of things. Circumstances alter cases.) The French Parlement a court appointed by King, not a representative or hereditary legislative body. Parlement of Paris as supreme tribunal of common law of nation. Helped by prohibition of ordeal of battle. Summary. The purpose of St. Louis. People's good—his will. St. Louis believer in absolutism. His decision about the struggle between English crown and barons. (5) Character of St. Louis. No ruler ever thought less of pleasure and more of duty. His character helped growth of France into a nation by giving center for loyalty. St. Louis' goodness typically early mediaeval. Influences that were weakening early mediaeval ideals already at work in world. Critical spirit which was to substitute Humanism for Scholasticism. Ideas of state and nation killing feudalism. But nevertheless religion of St. Louis mediaeval. (a) Ascetic. He hurt his body and denied his tastes as part of his religion. His humility in apparel. His shrewd advice to son-in-law, etc., shows that this was result of penitence. His austerities. (b) His constant worship. (c) The very depth of his religious feeling made him, as a mediaeval man, cruel to Jews and heretics. Anecdote showing his idea of way to discuss religion with Jews. Backed introduction of Papal inquisition into France. Its terrible slaughter of heretics.

His ideal for a king: Honesty, maintain peace and justice, avoid war with Christians, destroy sin and heresy. The faithfulness he showed in keeping it.

Introductory note to Lectures X, XI, XII.

History records the memorable deeds of notable men. But history is not a collection of unusual specimens of the genus homo. It is the story of a life that continues though men

die. For there is a life common to all the men of a generation. No man lives to himself, and men are notable for history because they have affected this common life. And, in our mind, no generation lives to itself. The common life which belongs to a generation, seems to come out of the past and to go on into the future. This common, continuous life of nations, is too complex to understand perfectly. And even he who could comprehend it, would find it too vast to be fully told. Nevertheless we keep trying to tell parts of the story of this common life of man. The laws a generation enforces and hands down to its descendants, are records of this common continuous life. Its most complete symbol is government, which may change frequently and yet abide for centuries. Its most dramatic display is a war, when masses of men are led, by interest, pride or passion, to band together for the slaughter of other masses of men. But laws and governments are, in a sense, only the guardians of this common continuous life of a nation or group of nations: most wars are hideous debauches of its misdirected energies. The noblest manifestations of it, are seen in things the older historians were prone to neglect. The improvement of industrial arts and the growth of skill in making economic forces work together, these results of the common wisdom of generations, which put the danger of hunger and cold farther from more men and women, interest the historian. The organization of society, which makes life more orderly and pleasant, the growth of that heritage of knowledge which teachers hand on to pupils, the increase in the power to express the sense of beauty in the fine arts, the changing nature or the growing influence of religious belief; these things, in a nation or group of nations, are the finest manifestations of that common, continuous life whose story history tries to tell. The great pleasure and interest to be found in following the development of the fine arts from 800 to 1300, I have tried to suggest in the voluntary lectures. Let me now, in the three following lectures, briefly touch on some of the other noblest manifestations of the life of the early middle ages.

## LECTURE X.

### Cities and the Third Estate.

#### I. THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN CITIES.

The Roman Empire grew out of a city. And it may be spoken of as a great combination of cities. (In Gaul alone 112.) (A) A century after power of these municipalities broken down and Empire made a centralized bureaucracy, Empire declined. Roman prosperity, like ours, rested on agriculture. Depression of its agriculture by taxes meant decay of urban prosperity. (B) Result was the breaking of the Limes. Barbarian immigrants country dwellers. Farmers and fighters. From sixth century trade almost suspended. (See obstacles mentioned in Robinson.) Cities ceased to count for much. (C) In tenth century only two classes to be reckoned with as political factors. The clergy and the fief holders or nobles.

#### II. THE RISE OF THE MEDIAEVAL CITIES.

(Often Roman cities revived.) Begins 10th century. In Francia explained by Mr. Robinson. Military cities under Otto the Great in Germania explained in lectures. These newly risen cities had some power over their own affairs. A. Result. (1) The burgher. The political power of these cities vastly increased by a change taking place in Europe from end of tenth to beginning of thirteenth century. By 1200 this change had added to European society another characteristic figure, the burgher. What he was. A merchant belonging to a family possessing a hereditary right to hold office in a more or less self governing city. (2) The Third Estate. These burghers added to the two estates or classes of earlier mediaeval times, the ecclesiastical nobles, or clergy, and the lay nobles, a third estate, the citizens or burghers.

B. The process of development of this class. (1) Complex, slow and varied. No two cities exactly alike in time,

manner or results of this change. No general statement about it without some exception. (2) Chief cause of this political and social development, was economic change. Lack of communication between communities. See Robinson. Remember also private war. But commerce was never entirely dead. Paths of sea open. Cities of South France and Italy sent out ships. Therefore first to increase in size, wealth and power. (3) The liberty of local government which resulted from this development. Some cities of Italy gained in eleventh century. Others followed and soon after Legnano, many cities of North France, Germany and England (under Philip Augustus, Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa) had considerable liberty in managing own affairs.

C. How this power of local government won. (Retrospect.) (1) The opposition. The two older estates fought desperately. The clergy. The bishop's opinion: "There are three noisy heads yea four hard to keep quiet," etc. (2) How this opposition was met. (a) By power of association. The guilds. At first industrial or religious. Resemblance between development of feudalism and of Third Estate. Economic and social arrangement became governmental. (b) Peaceable struggle. Communes, headed by such merchant guilds, usually gained liberty from control peaceably. Commonest way money. Sometimes played one rival overlord against another. A few intelligent overlords who promoted growth of cities. (c) Fighting. But some cities had to fight. *e. g.* The plucky Flemish commune. The city of Laon and its sporting episcopal tyrant. The savage fight for liberty. (d) Symbols. Why the victorious noble in such a fight burnt charter, broke seal and pulled down belfry. Symbols of the civic corporation, an artificial personality with a life of its own independent of the lives of its members.

D. Relation to feudalism. These artificial personalities came into existence against will of two feudal classes, but nevertheless entered into feudal organization of society, as vassals and as overlords. In South France and Italy vassalage nominal. In Germany up to 1246 rather

strict. Then relaxed. Many cities became for a time independent oligarchies. Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen are to-day states of the German Empire. The city as vassal. Homage. The city as overlord. Its fiefs. Its rights. Justice. Private war. How power varied. Italy and South France. England. The strange right of burning or destroying house in North France. The curious political situation resulting from feudalism and chartered rights. Inhabitant not equivalent to citizen. The various jurisdictions within the walls.

G. The non-independent type of city. (1) What it was. The cities whose charter guaranteed certain privileges without self government. Results of willingness of intelligent lords to encourage urban growth. Four hundred of this type in North France by year 1200. (2) Advantages. (a) Safer. Less jealousy from overlords. (b) More democratic. Towns of independent type governed by oligarchies of rich merchants. Hence less peaceful than cities of non-independent type. (c) Freedom from factional strife. The factions of the merchant oligarchy. The houses of the Italian cities. The podesta; an outsider hired to conduct government.

The nobles of Venice, Florence and some other Italian cities; their unique position.

Venice, her great wealth and power. Escapes results of factional spirit. Hence one of few Italian cities not to lose liberty in fourteenth century by rise of a tyrant. Duration of her government. Extraordinary power in early 16th century. Their economic origin suggests that Venetian nobles ought really to be classified among third estate. Power based not on land but on trade.

## LECTURE XI.

### The Church in Early Mediaeval Times.

I. THE THING WHICH MOST DISTINGUISHED MIDDLE AGES FROM MODERN TIMES WAS OVERMASTERING INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH.

(a) The sacraments and life. Baptism or hell. Confirmation or outlawry. The necessary miracle of the mass. Could not establish family without blessing of Church. Feared to die without extreme unction. (b) Great part of law administered by Church courts. Church controlled education. Clergy only educated class to 1100. And comparatively few lay men up to 1300. Heresy a crime. (c) Claimed political power. Taxed. Sacraments had to be paid for and tribute to Pope in shape of fees, etc. Church raised armies. Political authority—gave and took away crowns, etc. Innocent III first deposed John, and then declared Magna Charta null and void. The mediaeval town and the Church building typifies mediaeval life.

II. THE RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE OF LIFE OF MEDIAEVAL TIMES ON THE CHURCH.

Like people like priest. The illustration of a Chinese child brought to America.

III. BUT CLERGY, UNLIKE FEUDAL BARONS, INFLUENCED MORE THAN THEY WERE INFLUENCED.

Why? Because ideas and precepts of New Testament opposed many customs and habits of mediaeval society. These ideas and precepts enabled clergy to restrain some customs and habits. *e. g.* Truce of God. Church corrupted by mediaeval vices, but still almost only influence making for good. Difficulty of understanding beauty of some mediaeval lives. *e. g.* St. Francis. Avoid the philistine attitude of the man who thinks everybody different from people he knows, a fool or barbarian.

IV. THREE EVIL TENDENCIES WHICH LIMITED GOOD INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH. (The first is unquestioned by any serious historian.)

A. Tendency to corruption of clergy; *i. e.*, neglect of duty to teach and live by ideas of New Testament. Cause same as cause of corruptions in public service. Bad motives of those who sought office—pride, greed of power. Simony = bribery. This corruption chief cause of spread of heresy. Hence St. Francis and St. Dominic, trying to restore influence weakened by corruption, insisted on poverty to remove temptation to this corruption. Corruption of older monastic orders by wealth. Franciscans and Dominicans soon abandon founders' ideal.

B. Tendency to formalism. (Denied by most R. C. historians. Reasons I give for, denied by some Protestant historians.) Formalism means aptness to substitute rites for precepts. (1) This a distortion of mediaeval doctrine. Sacraments not supposed to save people who did not follow in heart. But, as matter of fact, there was a tendency on part of clergy to let people believe outward sign was the inward grace. (2) Causes. (a) I think chief cause was belief that religion was an institution and not a truth; that, if traditional Church were destroyed, truth could not survive. Whether this explanation true or not, two things are certain. (b) There was a tendency to formalism among people. Lawless man would regard himself as good son of Church. Corrupt clergy winked at. Rebukes of honest clergy weakened by (c) The Church treated heresy and schism, however honest, as worse than wickedness. (Make distinctions. Man who believes truth depends on an institution, may reasonably believe heretic more dangerous than murderer, but *not* more guilty.) Excommunication of Raymond of Toulouse for refusing to kill his subjects. John's vices spared. His refusal to appoint Papal candidate for archbishopric of Canterbury brought excommunication.

C. Temporal power of clergy. (Retrospect.) *First stage.* Arose at time of migrations of 5th century. When government at Constantinople weak, bishops took over civil func-

tions. Especially bishop of Rome. Legacies of land. Huge estates of Papacy in Italia, Gaul, Africa, Asia, Dalmatia. By time of Gregory the Great, popes repaired aqueducts, hired troops, etc. *Second stage.* Carolingians endorsed this combination of civil power and spiritual authority by erecting States of Church. Similar things happened to other bishops. *Third stage.* Growth of feudalism affects civil power of clergy. Under feudalism, ownership of land meant government. "Fief and justice go together." Hence bishops raised fighting men and held courts. Clergy forbidden arms. But simony brought in younger sons of nobles. Hence fighting bishops. *e. g.* (1307) Bishop of Durham. Christian Archbishop of Mainz and his spiked club. *Fourth stage.* Church half accepts. Church could not well rebuke because of clergy in crusades. The crusade against Albigenses. Clergy in arms under Legate of Pope. The great killing. The reported saying of the Legate. The bishop's exhortation: "For, in the name of Jesus Christ, I will be your surety at the day of judgment, that all who die in this glorious combat will obtain the eternal recompense of the martyr's glory." Summary of four stages. But temporal power far more than these natural results of different historical situations. *Fifth stage.* Popes claimed a temporal power given, not by men, but by God. Popes of thirteenth century claimed sole right to crown. *i. e.* Pope overlord of world. No idle boast. Sanctioned by Councils. Meaning of Oecumenical Council. From 325 to 1300 thirteen. Six, in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, indorse Papal claims. Astonishing degree of assent from civil rulers. Kings of Sicily, Portugal, England, Norway, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria acknowledged. The council of Lyons 1274 and the realm of the Pope. Livonians, Pomeranians, Prussians and Finns recently converted. Ambassador from ruler of Mongols asking for baptism. Constantinople (in hands of Latin Kings) sent ambassadors acknowledging supremacy of Popes over Greek Church. Such temporal power apt to increase tendency to corruptness and formalism.



*Moral condition of early mediaeval times* (from 800 to 1250). It is very hard to estimate correctly the moral condition of our own times; still harder to estimate the morality of a past age. But some evils evidently prevailed to a greater extent than at present. Ignorance, superstition and caste feeling. For lack of space I will speak only of the third. Caste feeling in mediaeval times was apt to be stronger than the respect for general law. A man was apt to think more of being a member of a guild than of being inhabitant of a city. There was one law and one court for the clergyman—another for the noble—another for the citizen—another for the serf. And different parts of what we now call the same country, had very different laws. Landed property meant government; a sort of private government to which those who lived on the land were subject.

Each man thus possessed of a private government, or each class of men, or each guild of men, stood firmly for their rights as against all other men outside of their government. If they stood for their rights with the sword, they were not conscious of any offense in defending their own law against men outside of it. They were guilty of riot only when they broke their own law. They had no sense of a common law defending the commonwealth. The very idea of the Roman "*lex*," extending over all men to maintain common order, was gone.

The Church and the throne were the two institutions which worked to break down this caste feeling. The Church taught men a common religion, which made them all stand before God on a common level. And yet it ought now to be plain to you, that the corrupted part of the clergy were constantly mastered by this caste feeling. Wherever the throne grew strong, it promoted the influence of the idea of a law of the realm, a king's justice, above all particular laws. This idea began to have power in England early in the twelfth century. And in the reign of Henry II the phrase "common law" began to be current.

It is hard for us to understand the man of the early middle ages chiefly because he lacked this idea of a common law. Let me try to translate the situation into modern terms, by showing you the signs of a revival of his attitude, to the great danger of the Republic. The most serious problem of our day, is the relation between capital and labour. It is not an insoluble problem, unless it leads to such a revival of the mediaeval feeling of caste, as to destroy the reverence for common law standing for the commonwealth. On one side of this dispute, stands the corporation; an artificial personage like the commune. On the other side, is the union; a guild or association of men working at a certain trade. Is it not evident that the officers of some corporation, have conspired against the law, either by breaking it secretly, or by keeping its letter and evading its intent? And some of them have claimed that it is right for them to do this, for the sake of the corporations they represent. On the other hand, have not some members of labour unions broken the law by violence against scabs, and claimed that it was right, because no public peace ought to be maintained to the injury of the rights of labour?

Now these bribing breakers of law in the interests of a corporation, these violent breakers of law in the interests of a union or guild, are reverting to a mediaeval condition, a caste feeling unrestrained by reverence for common law. (Warning to student. This as an analogy, not a comparison. The *states of mind* are similar; the things and conditions compared are not exactly alike. *Remember that the conditions of one age are never just like those of another.* People who forget this are often fooled by history.) The lack of reverence for common law led to the worst feature of mediaeval life; its violence. Private war was constantly going on. And, to the misery thus produced, there was added brigandage by gangs of men, reduced to poverty, or habituated to crime, by these disorders recognized by custom.

## LECTURE XII.

### Learning in the Early Middle Ages. The Universities—Scholasticism.

I. AT END OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY LEARNING OF WESTERN EUROPE WAS CENTERED IN ITS UNIVERSITIES.

Kingdoms of Spanish peninsula 5. France 5. England 2. States of Italy 10. Of two kinds.

A. Law, governed by students.

B. Theology, governed by teachers.

II. TO UNDERSTAND THEIR RISE WE MUST TAKE RETROSPECT FROM BARBARIAN IMMIGRATIONS.

A. To foundation of universities. (1) Learning, like trade, declined until clergy and monks were only learned class. (2) In sixth century, there grew up among them objection to studying anything but Bible and Church fathers. Gregory the Great's warning against "idle vanities of secular men." This threw away best that had been said and done and known by past generations, except in regard to religion. (3) Result. Clergy less able to understand Bible and unable to defend religion against superstition (=unreasonable beliefs) growing from prevailing ignorance. *e. g.*, ordeal and wager of battle. What would Cicero or St. Paul have thought of either? Vain protest against by Agobard Archbishop of Lyons (died 940). Perpetual miracle *vs.* use of faculties. Jerusalem—Saracens. Rome—Goths, etc. (4) This fear of secular learning not universal. Irish Church. English Church. Charlemagne turns to Alcuin for help in (5) his reform of education. His school system went to pieces (about 840) but some schools survived as cathedral schools. (6) Some Cathedral schools became universities. *e. g.* Paris oldest, largest, most powerful university, north of Alps. (7) Paris typical of all the others. Typical means, all taught in same language, and same way of looking at the

world prevailed in all of them. This way of looking at the world called

B. SCHOLASTICISM, WHICH WAS IN VIGOUR AT THE DEATH, IN 1274, OF THOMAS AQUINAS, THE GREATEST OF THE SCHOLASTICS.

(1.) Remarks on: (a) Scholasticism related to learning as feudalism related to society and politics. Not a system. Varied very much in different times and places; but all scholastics were somewhat alike. And that general resemblance in the way teachers of cathedral schools and the universities some of them grew into, looked at the world, from 1000 to 1300, is what we call scholastic. (b) But remember scholasticism forming when feudalism at height. (Middle of eleventh century.) And when scholasticism at height (about 1250) feudalism in many parts of Europe declining. (c) Idea of scholasticism harder to give than idea of feudalism. But necessary to try, e. g., the phrases "scholastic discussion," "a scholastic treatise."

(2) Best way is to look at method of teaching in universities during mediaeval times. (a) The curriculum. Seven liberal arts. The trivium. The quadrivium; Arithmetic, Astronomy, Geometry and Music. Poor text-books. Half ignorant teachers. The trivium, Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic. Trivium chief part of curriculum, and, of trivium emphasis on Logic. Chief exercise debate, e. g., The traveling debater. (b) Reasons for emphasis on logic and debate. Afraid of Latin literature (as explained). Logic safe. Neither Christian nor pagan. Man might practice debate against a doctrine without being a heretic. Use of logic did not require much knowledge. The syllogism about a man striped orange and black, as an example of bad natural history but good logic. When books and knowledge increased at end of tenth century, habit of accepting tradition remained, e. g., Aristotle, Knights of Round Table, etc. C. Mental habits of scholars. Did not care much to criticize accepted ideas or traditional facts. Interested in deducing terms or ideas from these. Such results of logic they were apt to treat as things. They built great systems

of thought by piling up logical deductions—were apt to think these creations of their mind were the world. This habit shown by chief controversy. It was about the nature of Universals. (Refresh your memory about the meaning of this term by reference to Inductive Logic, by J. G. Hibben, pages 12 and 13.) Orthodox opinion realism, *i. e.*, that the individual thing exists only by virtue of the universal idea. Universalia ante rem. Combatted by Nominalists, *i. e.*, that universals are mere names existing only in mind. Universalia post rem. Abelard's compromise conceptualism. Universals are more than words because in all minds; but no existence apart from individual things. Universalia in re. Generation after generation debated. Question dead now because deductive logic no longer supreme topic and instrument of learned discussion.

#### C. THE GROWTH OF UNIVERSITIES.

(1) North of Alps, type ruled by teachers, *e. g.*, Paris. About 1200 A. D. teachers of cathedral school got charter for their universitas or guild. Then, as clergymen, got a bull from Pope approving guild. Scholars regarded as apprentices to art of teaching. Degree of Doctor meant a passed master. (2) In Italy. Student type, *e. g.*, Bologna. Old Roman teachers never entirely died out in Italian cities. Lay learning survived there as trade did. Most useful subject was Roman law. Why more useful there? City school of Bologna grew more and more famous as school of Roman law. Irnerius (beginning of 12th century) like Abelard. Drew students. Students formed four groups. Ultra montanes (define), Lombards, Tuscans, Romans. As aliens had no "law" in Bologna. Therefore (about 1200) organized for protection and promote their object-study. These four universities, or guilds of students, amalgamated into one. Professors formed a guild or universitas and granted degrees, but student universitas managed other affairs. Salaries from student guild and city. City finally restricted chairs to citizens of Bologna. How students held their own against city and professor's guild. Boycott on a professor. Cession against city. Power of rector of student universi-

tas. (3) No strong idea of moral discipline in universities of either type. Conditions of student life. Violence, *e. g.*, think these creations of their mind were the world. This one university. A specimen Oxford town and gown row. (4) Learned world organized, by methods prevalent in non-ecclesiastical and non-noble ranks of society, according to the ideal expressed by the custom of the guild and the charter. Tenacious of privilege, lacked idea of common law. This, as we have seen, worst vice of early middle ages. (5) Even lay universities of Italy not without strong clerical influence. The Canon law added to Roman law. Gratian organized study at Bologna in first half of 12th century. Importance of Canon law because of temporal power of clergy. Alexander III (1159-1181) a learned canonist. From his time on, monk replaced on throne of St. Peter by secular clergymen learned in Canon law. Law, which in Italian universities occupied the leading position held in the North by theology, divided into two branches. The Gueff stood by Canon law. The Ghibelline stood by Roman law.







1910

NOTES OF THE LECTURES

IN THE

HISTORY OF WESTERN  
EUROPE

IN THE MIDDLE AGES



PRINTED FOR THE USE OF THE CLASS  
NOT PUBLISHED



## BOOKS REQUIRED IN THE COURSE.

This list is not the same as the list of last year.

1. Robinson; History of Western Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.44.
2. Emerton; Mediaeval Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.35.
3. Eginhard; Life of Charlemagne, translated by S. E. Turner. \$0.30.
4. Robertson; The Making of the English Nation. Scribner's. \$0.45.
5. Seignobos; History of Mediaeval Civilization. Scribner's. \$0.67.
6. Hutton, W. H.; King and Baronage. Scribner's. \$0.45.
7. Hutton, W. H.; Philip Augustus. Macmillan. \$0.68.
7. Bryce; The Holy Roman Empire. Macmillan. \$1.35.
9. Jordanes; History of the Goths. Trans. C. C. Mierow. \$0.25.
10. The Printed Notes; to be bought at the University Library. \$0.25.  
(The Calendar and list of books in last year's notes are not correct for this year.)
11. The Outline Maps to be bought at the University Book Store. \$0.15.
12. Atlas of European History. Earl W. Dow. \$1.35.  
The Atlas and the Robinson will be useful for Junior History.

Any of these books can be bought by members at the University Book Store at the price affixed to each.

It will be necessary to own Robinson, the Printed Notes, the Maps and the Atlas.

Buy or order these *now*. If, because of your neglect of this precaution, you do not have a book when you need it, an iron-clad rule of the course prevents the instructors from paying any attention to the excuse. It is better to own the other books. But if you do not wish to buy them, you may read them in the library, where a number of copies have been provided. The proportion to the size of the class of copies provided, is larger than that provided at some universities. But it will not be large enough, if everybody puts off using the books until the last possible moment.

The following maps in Robinson and The Atlas are to be drawn on the outline maps. The figures in front indicate the weeks when they are due.

1. The Roman Empire. Atlas, pg. 4 (Map 204).
1. New Kingdoms in the Empire at the Death of Theodoric. Atlas, pg. 5 (Map 204).
2. Frankish Dominions under Dagobert, about 629. Atlas pg. 5 (Map 204).
3. Conquests of the Mohammedans. Atlas pg. 6 (Map 46) (show as far as possible).
3. Charlemagne's Empire. Atlas pg. 7 (Map 204).
6. Europe in the Later Tenth Century. Atlas pg. 8 (Map 204).
8. Crusaders' States. Atlas pg. 92 (Map 219).
10. France at Accession of Henry II of England. Atlas pg. 112 (Map 48).
11. France at End of Reign of Philip Augustus. Robinson pg. 129 (Map 48).
12. Lines of Trade and Mediaeval Towns. Robinson pg. 242 (Map 204).
14. France at the Beginning of 100 Year's War. Atlas pg. 12 (Map 48).
14. France after the Treaty of Bretigny (1360). Atlas pg. 12 (Map 48).
14. France in 1429. Atlas pg. 12 (Map 48).
15. Italy in the 15th Century. Atlas pg. 15 (Map 212).

## CALENDAR OF COURSE OF 1910

(Not the Same as the Calendar for Last Year)

The student is expected to consult this Calendar, to report for lectures and to be prepared on assignments at the proper dates. Recitations on assignments may be either written or oral. All assignments *include* the first and last page mentioned. Conditioned students, whose work has been unsatisfactory during the term, will be required to repeat the course according to III 7 of the Catalogue, pg. 269.

### First Week.

Monday, Feb. 14. Lecture I.

Tuesday, Feb. 15. Lecture II.

Wednesday, Feb. 16. Rob., Chap. I, II, III. (Compare Seignobos, 1 to 15) + Jordanes, pg. 55 (para. 173) to pg. 70.

### Second Week.

Monday, Feb. 21. Jordanes, pgs. 92 to end + Seignobos, 26 to 38 + Rob., 44 to 66.

Tuesday, Feb. 22. Vacation.

Wednesday, Feb. 23. Lecture III.

### Third Week.

Monday, Feb. 28. Seignobos, 30 to 60 + Rob., 66 to 91.

Tuesday, Mar. 1. Eginhard + Emerton, 3 to 14 + Seignobos, 61 and 62.

Wednesday, Mar. 2. Lecture IV.

### Fourth Week.

Monday, Mar. 7. Rob., 92 to 103 + Emerton, 35 to 40. (Omit *details* about Italy, Burgundy and Provence.) Rob., 104 to 112 + Seignobos, 63 to 85.

Tuesday, Mar. 8. Written test on all previous work.  
At the lecture hour, in the lecture room.

Wednesday, Mar. 9. Lecture V.

### Fifth Week.

Monday, Mar. 14. Lecture VI.

Tuesday, Mar. 15. Lecture VII, first half.

Wednesday, Mar. 16. Lecture VII, conclusion.

## Sixth Week.

Monday, Mar. 21. Robinson, 148 to 152 + Emerton, 141 (last para.) to 143 (end of first para.) + 145 (middle) to 162 + Rob., 153 + Emerton, 185 (last para.) to 199 (middle).

Tuesday, Mar. 22. Emerton, 199 to 204 (end of first para.) + 212 to 254—(middle of 233 to bottom of 237). Omit last paragraph of 238.

Wednesday, Mar. 23. Rob., 169 (para. 65) to 172 + Emerton, 271 to 274 + 282 (middle) to 312 + Bryce, 179 to 181.

## Seventh Week.

Monday, Mar. 28. Vacation.

Tuesday, Mar. 29. Vacation.

Wednesday, Mar. 30. Bryce, 132 to 203 + Emerton, 314 to 327 (end of first para.) + Emerton 332 to 343.

## Eighth Week.

Monday, Apr. 4. Bryce, 204 to 243.

Tuesday, Apr. 5. Written test on all work since previous test; held in lecture hall, at the lecture hour.

Wednesday, Apr. 6. Lecture VIII.

## Ninth Week.

Monday, Apr. 11. Emerton, 358 to 397.

Tuesday, Apr. 12. Robertson, Making of the English Nation, 25 (bottom) to 72 (Chapter IV in summary).

Wednesday, Apr. 13. Robertson, Making of the English Nation. 72 to 108.

## Tenth Week.

Monday, Apr. 18. Hutton, King and Baronage, 7 to 39 (end of chapter).

Tuesday, Apr. 19. Hutton, King and Baronage, 39 to 77 (first para.).

Wednesday, Apr. 20. Hutton, King and Baronage, 77 to 112.

## Eleventh Week.

Monday, Apr. 25. Robinson, 120 to 128 (para. 50) + Hutton, Philip Augustus, 88 and 89 + bottom of 91 to 111 (pgs. 93 to 106 in summary) + 112 to 141 (omit 126 to 129).

Tuesday, Apr. 26. Hutton, Philip Augustus, 147 to 161 + 164 to 169 + 170 to 180 (middle) + 214 to 228 + Robinson, 128 to 132.

Wednesday, Apr. 27. Lecture IX .

#### Twelfth Week.

Monday, May 2. Written test on all work since last test; held at lecture hour in lecture room.

Tuesday, May 3. Lecture X.

Wednesday, May 4. Robinson 233 to 237 (para. 93) + Emerton, 509 to 520 + Rob. 237 (para. 93) to 242 (para. 94) + Em., 521 (bottom) to 532 + last paragraph of chapter + Rob., 242 (para. 94) to 249.

#### Thirteenth Week.

Monday, May 9. Lecture XI.

Tuesday, May 10. Emerton, 541 to 581—(572 (last para.) to middle of 576).

Wednesday, May 12. Lecture XII.

#### Fourteenth Week.

Monday, May 16. Robinson, Chapter XIX (pgs. 250 to 273) + Emerton, 439 to 464—(442 to first para. of 449).

Tuesday, May 17. Lecture XIII.

Wednesday, May 18. Rob., 277 to 302 + Seignobos, 192 to 204.

#### Fifteenth Week.

Monday, May 23. Seignobos, 210 to 231 + Rob., 303 to 320.

Tuesday, May 24. Lecture XIV.

Wednesday, May 25. Robinson, 321 to 352.





St. Bernard's Crusade defeated 1149 }  
 Frederick Barbarossa accedes **1152** }  
 Louis VII of France divorces Eleanor }  
 Henry II accedes (England) 1154 }

Scene at Venice after Legnano **1177** }  
 Death of Thomas a'Becket 1170 }  
 Philip II Augustus accedes (France) 1180 }

Crusade takes Constantinople 1204 }  
 Innocent III Pope 1198 to 1216 }  
 Frederick II (The Magnificent) crowned 1212 }  
 Magna Carta **1215** }

Frederick the Magnificent dies **1250**

Charles of Anjou kills Conradin 1268 }  
 St. Louis dies on Crusade **1270** }  
 Edward I (English Justinian) accedes 1272 }  
 Thomas Aquinas dies 1274 }

The Model Parliament 1295 }  
 Philip IV (the Handsome) and Council of France 1302 }  
 Scene at Anagni **1303** }

## B. The Later Mediæval Age.

Papacy at Avignon 1309 to 1377  
 Edward III King of England 1327  
 Peace of Bretigny 1360  
 Battle of Agincourt }  
 Council at Constance } <sup>1415</sup>  
 Turks take Constantinople  
 End of Hundred Years' War bet. France & England } <sup>1453</sup>  
 Columbus discovers America 1492 }  
 Charles VIII of France invades Italy **1494.** }

A list of readings on the various topics of the course which the student will find profitable and interesting.

It is an excellent plan for the student of Latin, French or German to do some historical reading in the language he is studying. The instructors of this course will be glad to suggest to anyone who asks, readings in these languages. Weeks. .

1. Roman Imperialism, by J. R. Seeley. Three essays, 65 pages.  
Epochs of Ancient History, The Early Empire. W. W. Capes. 225 pages.  
The Age of the Antonines, by W. W. Capes. 210 pages.  
Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman Empire. First 70 pages. Tells about the northern limes.
2. Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire, by Samuel Dill. Especially pages 227 to 281.  
Theoderic, by Hodgkin.
3. Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders. Vol. IV. Chapter XVI. On St. Benedict. Lane Poole, Speeches and Table Talk of Mahomet.  
Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Chapter L, 110 pages (on Mahomet).
- 4, 5. Mombert, Life of Charlemagne.  
Hodgkin, Charles the Great.  
Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools. West.
6. Oman, The Dark Ages, 476 to 918. (Also on previous topics.)  
The Viking Age. Paul du Chaillu.  
Keary, The Vikings in Western Christendom.  
Milman, History of Latin Christianity. Book V, chapters XII, XIII, XIV, 60 pages.
7. History of the English People, by J. R. Green, pages 1 to 105.
8. Epochs of Modern History. The Crusades. G. W. Cox (215 pages).

Bemont and Monod, Mediaeval Europe. Chapters XXI, XXII (40 pages).

Stanley Lane Poole, Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem.

9. For the relations of the Church and the Empire students are strongly advised to read Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, through the Fall of the Hohenstaufen (about 200 pages).
10. England under the Angevin Kings, by Kate Norgate. 2 vols.: especially Chapter I.  
Ramsay, Sir J. H. The Angevin Empire.
11. Bemont and Monod, Mediaeval Europe. On French Royalty. 391 to 444.  
Guizot, Essays. St. Louis.  
Joinville. Memoirs of Louis IX.
- 12, 13. On the Church and other Mediaeval Institutions.  
Emerton, Mediaeval Europe.  
Munro and Sellery, Mediaeval civilization.  
Adams, Civilization during the Middle Ages.  
Sabatier, Life of St. Francis of Assisi.  
On Cities and Trade.  
Bemont and Monod, Mediaeval Europe, 374 to 390.  
Gibbons, H. de B. History of Commerce in Europe, pages 1 to 92.
14. Reginald Lane-Poole, Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought.

## LECTURE I.

### The Empire of Rome.

Connection between the Roman Empire and the history of Western Europe.

Unchangeable things on a map. Changeable things. Cities, their comparative permanence.

Political boundaries shifting. Illustration of the slate.

Map 100 B. C. The band of colour around Mediterranean. Marks extension of political power of people who lived on slopes of Apennines. Their best quality love of law. Their evil qualities—pride, greed, cruelty. Roman slavery. Mommsen on. The Amphitheatre. Financial oppression. Why they conquered Mediterranean shores. Conquest ruin of Republic. Greed increased by conquest. Republican government could conquer world, but neither rule nor defend it. Romans made temporary dictators to meet internal and external dangers to state.

Marius beat robbers of South and North. Crassus—servile insurrection. Pompey—pirates and attacks from East. Julius Caesar hardest task. Defended western end of Mediterranean by carrying the eagles to the Atlantic. Forces appointment as dictator for life. Assassinated by Republicans.

His nephew Augustus (adopted son) begins Empire in 29 B. C. His power and titles. Imperator-Princeps. Sacrifice to Emperor as the Genius of Rome. Apotheosis.

The Principate, what it was. Absolutism veiled under forms of Republic.

Its objects, defence and peace. How attained.

A. Keeping barbarians out of Empire.

(1) The new army.

(2) The *limes*. Why conquests pushed back from fertile mountain slopes of the coast. Julius' advice and Augustus' disaster. The line, object, and nature of the *limes*. Cities which grew from camps. Restrictions on passing *limes*.

Defense of. Guarded for four hundred years. The limes planned by Augustus limits stage of history in Europe till 16th century.

B. Peace by wise government.

When Principate established government of Rome very bad. *e. g.*, Cicero against Verres. The saying about three fortunes.

Beneficent effects of Principate. Reform—Unity of feeling. Claudian: "Rome cherished the human race under the common name of mother, called her conquered foes, citizens and bound the ends of the world together by affection." Mommsen says that the lands included in the Roman Empire have never been so well governed as they were for the greater part of the second century. Tertullian, one of the Christians persecuted by the government, thought that if the barbarians should destroy Rome the end of the world would immediately follow. At 180, Romania fell into long series of disorders. Nineteen men claim purple at once. The limes is broken. Saved by five soldier emperors. Diocletian and Constantine, to prevent such dangers, change Princeps to Eastern despot, suppress local government, create three hierarchies. This reorganization maintained peace until the death of Theodosius the Great 395. Then occurred tremendous changes, *mistakenly* called the destruction of the Roman Empire by the barbarians.

## LECTURE II.

### The Barbarian Migrations.

#### I. THE BREAKING OF THE LIMES.

The so-called fall of the Empire, in the fifth century, was really a part of a great series of migrations.

Migrations into this country, etc. Every year we receive about the number Alaric led into Italy.

Cause of 5th century migrations same as ours; but, (1) emigrants came into Empire as organized peoples; (2) expected to get better living by sword instead of spade.

Two classes of these armed immigrants.

A. *Barbari*. Hostile to civilization and religion of the Romans. Example, the Huns.

B. Most of immigrant tribes more civilized than our Indians. No coinage, art or literature, but political organization. Certain qualities not inferior to Romans. (a) No more cruel. Examples of Roman cruelty. (b) Ability of leaders. Romans called these leaders *Semi-barbari*. (c) Their purpose expressed by Athaulf, Alaric's successor, who married Emperor's daughter: "At first I ardently desired that the Roman name should be obliterated and that . . . Romania should become Gothia and Athaulf be what Caesar Augustus was. But I have been taught by much experience, that the unbridled license of the Goths will never admit of their obeying *laws*. And, without laws, a state is not a state. I have therefore chosen the safer course of aspiring to the glory of restoring and increasing the Roman name by Gothic vigour; and I hope my name will be handed down to posterity as the initiator of a Roman restoration."

II. DURING CENTURIES WHEN BARBARI TRIED TO DESTROY, AND SEMI-BARBARI TO GET A SHARE IN, THE EMPIRE, IT BROKE IN TWO.

Line of cleavage determined by political arrangements. (Retrospect. The four prefectures. The new capitol).

Differences between the two eastern and two western prefectures. (a) Speech—east, Greek; west, Latin. (b) Blood. Levantine stock = Greek + Asiatic + Egyptian. Roman stock. Teuton + Italian + Celt. (c) Religion. Patriarch and Pope. But in spite of these things, sense of unity not entirely lost. Even Charlemagne acknowledged superior dignity of Emperor at Constantinople.

### III. THE GREAT FIGHT TO PRESERVE THE INHERITANCE OF ROME.

A. (Note to be used if student finds it useful.) A suggested arrangement of stages of struggle from 410 to 900 +. If we look at this long struggle of five centuries between those inside and outside the Roman Empire, we see very clear stages of it. (1) In the fifth century, the fighting line stretched from east to west and the attack came from the north. The outsiders turned the Roman flanks. The barbari (the Saxons) got a lodgment in Britain, whence they were never driven. The barbari, the Vandals and others, went through the left flank, got a position at the Roman rear in Africa and held it for a hundred years. (2) In the second stage, the Barbari within and without (the Huns and Vandals) tried to cut the Roman line in two. The Huns took Aquileia and the Vandals Rome, but the Semi-barbari (the Franks and Visigoths), who had won a share in the Empire in the first stage, stood by the Romans, and the Barbari were driven over the Alps and the seas. (3) In the third stage the fighting line ran north and south. The Graeco-Romans fought Barbari and Semi-Barbari. Justinian destroyed the Vandal and the Ostrogoth, though they were backed by the Frank and the Visigoth. And once more the Roman really ruled the entire shore of the Mediterranean (middle of sixth century). But immediately he was again (4th stage) attacked from the north. The barbarous Lombard rushed down into Italy and divided Italy with the Graeco-Roman; while the semi-barbarous Frank and Visigoth looked on. He divided Italy with the Graeco-Roman, because (5th stage) new outsiders broke into the Empire from the East. In the seventh century the barbari (the Arabs) swept the whole

southern and western shore of the Mediterranean, beating Romans and Visigoths. By the eighth century, the fighting line again stretched east and west. The Christians; the Frank, the, by this time, semi-barbarous Lombard and the Graeco-Roman, held the north shore of the Mediterranean. The Mohammedans held the south. The Mohammedans held an advanced post, Spain, at the west end; the Christians, Asia Minor, at east end. The Graeco-Roman beat the Mohammedan back from Constantinople (siege raised 718). The Frank drove him back across the Pyrenees (Tours 732). The two ends of the Roman Empire had now completely broken apart. And each of them, in the sixth stage, waged its own fight. From Asia and from their strongholds in the southern Mediterranean, the Mohammedans attacked the Eastern Empire. In the west, Charles the Great and his successors, having subdued the Lombards and re-established a Western Empire, fought successfully Normans, Saxons, Hungarians and Mohammedans who swarmed into the Empire from north, east and south.

B. The importance of this struggle to preserve the tradition of Roman law and religion against the barbari. Success meant the difference between Asia and Europe and America. That is why Princeton University thinks that every highly educated man should know something of Latin.

#### IV. WHY THE ARMED MIGRATIONS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY SUCCEEDED IN BREAKING THE LIMES.

Long answer summarized under A. B. A. Empire weaker. (1) Weaker in men. Plague under Marcus Aurelius (165 A. D.). Empire never recovered population. Reasons. (a) Slave labour ruined small farmer. (b) Moral rottenness. Naples museum. Roman literature. Salvian. St. Jerome. (2) Weaker in money. (a) Effects. Could not go on hiring soldiers. (Expedient of issuing bonds might have kept limes much longer.) (b) Causes. Roman ignorant in finance. In fourth century, currency depreciated, expense increased, civil hierarchy grew corrupt in spite of burning speculators at the stake. Hence heavy taxation. Burden of



this increased by method of collection. Municipia made mere tax collecting bodies. A curial = anybody not of senatorial rank who owned 15 acres or more of land. Curials of district made liable for gross tax of district. Roman wealth from land. Middle class crushed. Curials vainly tried to escape by becoming artisans of coloni. Pressure of taxes on middle class ruined empire. (3) Citizens less brave and loyal. Small farmers filled legions that conquered the world. Ranks now filled by half slaves or hired savages. "The wolves of Romulus and the sheep of Arcadius." Invaders outnumbered but inhabitants refused (406) call to defend country. (a) Long forbidden to bear arms. (b) Unpatriotic. Reasons. Reforms of Diocletian increased efficiency, but most efficient government for a time not always best in the end. Steps in decline of government. (1) Emperor more control but inhabitants of localities no control. (2) Bureaucracy grew too strong for Emperors. (3) Graft, tyranny, laziness. Roads and public works fell into decay—brigands swarmed—army a fraud. Sidonius's remark. Priscus' story of a Roman citizen who joined Huns.

B. Assailants stronger than ever before. (1) Fear of Huns. (2) Learned war from Romans. (3) Empire Orientalized by Diocletian and Germanized by others. German soldiers and settlers. (4) Armed immigrations all invited into Empire as allies of some person or faction.

Migrations by which those outside Empire broke into it, came, not as a sudden flood, but rather as the result of slow decay and long infiltration.

### LECTURE III.

## What the Semi-barbari, Romans, and barbari were doing from the days of Alaric to the middle of the Seventh Century.

#### I. THE SEMI-BARBARI.

A. The unsuccessful ones. Two things hampered efforts of those semi-barbari who tried "to restore the Roman name by Gothic vigour." (1.) Social and political habits and instincts of their people (explain later). (2) Differences of opinion about religion. (a) All the invading tribes of 5th and 6th centuries Christian except Huns, Saxons, etc. ("Christian"—meaning of in this connection.) Respected churches, e. g., Alaric at Rome. (b) But heretics. Heresy considered by clergy worst wickedness. Bitter hatred of orthodox for heretics.

B. Most successful of semi-barbari were the Frank Clovis and his descendants (called Merovingians). Consider about them 1, 2, 3. (1.) Their conquests authorized by Emperor at Constantinople with title of Consul. Sons and grandsons made Eastern boundary, Elbe and line drawn from its head waters almost to Adriatic; Southern boundary Alps and Pyrenees; Western, the ocean. Tried to imitate Roman governmental machinery. Used Latin. Employed Roman inhabitants. Never took title of Emperor. (2) But in this attempt "to restore Roman name by Gothic vigour" hampered by social and political habits and feelings of people. Lacked idea of a body politic—the State. Ideas personal. Clovis divided kingdom among sons like a private estate. Hence tendency to break to pieces. The lines of cleavage. Neustria, Austria, Aquitania, Burgundy. Tendency twice checked. Lothaire I about 550. Lothaire II about 600. Under Dagobert his son, who died in 638, power of Merovingians reached height.

(3.) These Merovingians succeeded better than other semi-barbari in restoring "Roman name by Gothic vigor," because free from obstacle of hatred between orthodox and heretic. Clovis worst in character of all semi-barbari up to this time, but wife, was orthodox. Hence (a) Emperor sanctioned his victory over the authorized but heretic Visigoth and Burgundian. (b) Ecclesiastical hierarchy supported instead of opposing him. This friendship of clergy of greatest importance to rulers of Franks. Finally enabled Charlemagne to do what no other semi-barbarus had done. In order to understand importance of support of ecclesiastical hierarchy consider:

## II. WHAT ROMANS OF WESTERN EUROPE WERE DOING FROM ALARIC TO MIDDLE OF SEVENTH CENTURY.

Most remarkable thing was upbuilding of Roman Church. Look at this achievement under A, B, C.

A. Religious influence of the clergy. Always continued great. If Church corrupt at any time, world more corrupt. Whole body of clergy never forgot ideal at any one time. Its own members always reformed its corruptions. Clergy could not stop moral decay of fourth century, but checked it. Stood for an ideal. Last of great emperors, Theodosius (395), had to bow before. Story of Ambrose and Theodosius. Master of the legions gave way to the representative of unseen world. Power of righteousness.

B. This influence of clergy increased by spread of ascetic ideal of life. (1.) Derivation of ascetic. Historic beginning of ascetic life probably from an ideal not Christian, i. e., that the body, like all matter, is evil. Probably eastern origin. Hindu fakeer. (2) First form of ascetic life, hermits. e. g., St. Simeon Stylites. (Compare Tennyson's poem.) (3.) This pagan idea modified into Christian idea of subduing body to save soul. Popularized in West by St. Jerome. Why it spread. Evilness of the times. Companies of pious men withdrew from world to save their souls. (4) The rule of living made by Benedict of Nursia (526) for such a company who gathered round his cave in Monte Cassino. Rule widely adopted. At death of

Dagobert lands of empire dotted with monasteries. (5) These monks not necessarily priests but increased influence of religion. Their religion superstitious, e. g., St. Gregory's life of St. Benedict. But lives taught repentance and coming judgment, e. g., Benedict's rebuke of Totila. For six centuries monks increased. Monk one of three characteristics figures of middle ages. Judgment on monks. Their great services in the past.

C. Romans built up church in this period by increasing authority of Bishops of Rome. (1.) Authority of Bishops of Rome not as great for first centuries as later. Uncertainty of list of Popes for first two centuries. In fourth century, Roman Bishops not most noted churchmen. But from Innocent I were. Authority grew. (2.) These popes who formed papacy, of Roman stock. Hence some truth in saying: "Papacy is ghost of Roman empire sitting crowned on the grave thereof". (3). Greatest of these men was Gregory the Great. Probably first monk to become pope. Monks left cells to save world. Their two-fold task. (a) Saved remnants of Roman civilization and spread Christianity outside of empire. (b) Realized and preserved idea of papacy as vice regent of God. e. g., Gregory the Great in both tasks. (a) Decline of learning after beginning of migration. Marked inferiority of Gregory and other monkish writers to Cicero or Augustine; but lights in darkness. (b) 600 A. D. About half of Western Europe still pagan. Ancient province of Britain still pagan. How it had become so. The mission to Britain. The story of slaves in Roman market. The mission of Augustine (of England). Condition in which he found Britain. *Political. Religious.* Romano-British inhabitants and Saxon conquerors. Irish missionaries. These conditions troubled Roman missionaries. Penda's death. Synod of Whitby. Results: (1) Spiritual unity among Saxon tribal kingdoms. (2) Britain brought back to connection with civilized world, i. e., Roman world.

II. WHAT THE BARBARIAN WAS DOING FROM ALARIC TO MIDDLE OF SEVENTH CENTURY.

Sudden appearance in seventh century of a great Mohammedan politico-religious federation. A. The foundation. Unlike the papacy founded by one man. Condition of Arabia at beginning of seventh century. The 360 images at Mecca. Mohammed belonged to Hanifs, a sect believing in one God too great for public worship. His fasts in the wilderness. His visions. Begins to teach as prophet. After eleven years, 314 disciples in arms. Power of his teaching shows at first battle. When he died, a few years before Dagobert, all Arabia said; "There is but one God and Mahomet is his prophet".

B. Its expression. The two first Califs, early disciples of Mohammed, heads of religion and war chiefs of the confederate tribes of Arabia, conquered central Asia and the Nile Valley in twelve years.

C. Civil war checks conquests. After they had both died (644) green banner checked by civil war. For fifty years Mohammedanism hung like a terrible storm southwest of Roman world. In early years of eighth century storm broke. Constantinople and the Franks withstood it.

## LECTURE IV.

### The importance of the reign of Charlemagne. Chivalry: the Normans. (Remarks supplementary to Seignobos.)

The object of this course, is to suggest to you some idea of the way by which the Western European world of the second century, became the Western European world of the thirteenth century. In this change Empire of Charlemagne seems to be a turning point, *i. e.*, to come between and connect two different stages of the process of change. Three considerations will perhaps make plain what I mean. I. A CONSIDERATION OF THE DIVISIONS OF HISTORY INTO PERIODS.) The formal nature of all divisions into periods.) A convenient division of the history of western Europe, is to call the period before the Empire of Charlemagne, Ancient History; the period from the Empire of Charlemagne to the French invasion of Italy in 1494, Mediaeval History; and the time since, Modern History. The Ancient History of this division, seems to me to fall naturally into two ages. A. The Roman age of Ancient European History (up to the fifth century). Under this head I have suggested to you the following facts, conditions and processes: (1) Western Europe of the second century, was divided between Roman civilization and Northern barbarism. (2) Civilization was nearly destroyed, in the third century, by quarrels among its defenders and attacks from barbarians. Diocletian saved the Roman world by Orientalizing the Principate (Empire) at the end of the third century. (3) This Orientalizing of the Empire, which saved it for a time, helped its decay.

B. Then begins (410) the Teuton age of the Ancient History of Western Europe. For four hundred years Teutons try "to restore the Roman state by Gothic vigor". (1)

In fifth century, the semi-barbari wrest the control of Western Europe from the Romans and erect Teutono-Roman Kingdoms nominally under the Imperial authority. Franks, Visigoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Ostrogoths. (2) In the sixth century, Roman energy revived. Justinian regained partial control of Western Europe and Romans like Benedict and Gregory, built up the influence and authority of the Roman Church. (c) In the seventh century, the most dangerous barbarian (that is anti-Roman) migration, the Mohammedans, attacked the Empire. (d) In the eighth century the Franks beat back the Mohammedans, and became supreme between the Mediterranean and the North Sea, the southwestern corner of the Baltic and the northern end of the Adriatic. During this last age the Roman element in Western Europe had declined. Art, literature, government, law, religion were barbarized, and, when Charlemagne tried to become Roman Emperor in the West, he could not do it except in name. Charlemagne compared to Marcus Aurelius. Their worlds less like than the men.

II. AFTER CHARLEMAGNE'S DEATH WESTERN EUROPEAN WORLD BECAME STILL MORE UNLIKE WORLD OF ROMAN AGE.

A. It loses political unity. Condition of France in tenth century. In thirteenth century. Greatest influence in those political changes feudalism. Feudalism both an effect and a cause. Two marked stages of. (a) It was a method of social organization based on ownership of land, appearing during decay of Merovingian and rise of Carolingian power. Charlemagne acknowledged its elements. (b) In ninth century, when Charlemagne's empire was going to pieces, it tended to become a method of government. Hence we see Charlemagne's empire a turning point.

III. Third consideration, etc. AFTER CHARLEMAGNE WESTERN EUROPE BREAKS FORMALLY FROM EASTERN EMPIRE AND ROMAN CHURCH BECOMES, FOR THAT SECTION, SUCCESSOR TO ONE CHIEF FUNCTION OF ROMAN EMPIRE. Carrier of unity of Christendom. In mediaeval times, a sort of spiritual unity prevailed in spite of lack of political unity. Seen in Chivalry, Monasticism, the Crusades, Scholasticism, etc.

All these dependent, more or less, on influence of the Roman Church Catholic (or Universal). The use of Roman Empire by great semi-barbari who did not wish to submit to the effective control of the Emperors at Constantinople, was a little like the use of Roman Church by great mediaeval rulers who did not wish to submit to the effective control of the Pope at Rome.

I. One of the ideals and customs dependent on influence of Church, which show unity of mediaeval world in spite of political diversity, is CHIVALRY.

(a) Knight one of the three characteristic figures of the middle ages. (b) Why knighthood implied ownership of land. (c) Our inheritance from chivalric ideal, good and bad. (d) This means that practice of Knights did not always match chivalric ideal. Ruskin and Mark Twain. (e) We ought to reverence knight's ideal. Can be seen more clearly in poetry than in history. The Morte d'Arthur by Sir Thomas Mallory and Idylls of the King by Tennyson.

II. THE SPREAD OF FEUDALISM AND ITS CHANGE TO A METHOD OF GOVERNMENT, HELPED BY NEW BARBARIAN INVASIONS OF TENTH CENTURY.

Especially THE VIKINGS. Word. Boats. Courage. Close kinship of Baltic peoples. First Vikings. Their native love of fighting, greed of gold. Their cruelty: compared with Romans. The tradition of Charlemagne and first Vikings. During civil war before treaty of Verdun, took London and Paris. About 850 made pirate strongholds; usually on islands at mouth of river. Their method of fight. Vikings only dangerous for lack of strong leaders against them. Need of an Imperator to hold the limes and maintain peace. This plundering finally ceased because Vikings, both in England and France, changed from barbari to semi-barbari. Ceased to be pirates seeking fighting and gold, became settlers seeking homes. Guthrum in England. Rollo in France. 911. Rollo's followers and their descendants, quickly took language, feudalism, literature, art and church from the descendants of the Franko-Romans.



Introductory note to Lectures V, VI, VII.

A suggested means of memorizing the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation during the tenth, eleventh and part of the twelfth century.

Conrad I, Duke of Franconia, transmitted the crown of Germania to the Saxon dynasty; a father, son, grandson and great-grandson; Henry I and three Ottos. Under the former pair, authority of throne increased; under the latter pair, it declined.

Then Henry II, Duke of Bavaria, transmitted the crown to the Franconian dynasty; a father, son, grandson, and greatgrandson; Conrad II and three Henries. Under the former pair authority of throne increased; under latter it declined.

Then Lothaire II transmitted crown to the House of Hohenstaufen.

## LECTURE V.

### Nicholas the Great. Henry I (the Fowler) and the Revival of Germania. The Pornocracy. Otto the Great and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

#### I. LATTER HALF OF NINTH CENTURY AN AGE OF DISORDER AND MISERY.

Emperors still wore the crown but the Empire, the guarantee of peace and order, was only an idea in people's minds.

#### II. ATTEMPTS TO STEM TIDE OF DISINTEGRATION AND DISORDER.

A. Unsuccessful attempt of the church. (1) Weakness of Empire opportunity of Church. Church one common institution to which all civilized men, north by Pyrenees and west of Adriatic, belonged. (2) Papacy assumes authority to meet the situation. A new idea of Pope's authority arose. (Like change made by Diocletian when he Orientalized the Princeps-Emperor.) At end of sixth century, Gregory the Great was the first of the bishops; in a sense "primus inter pares". Provincial synods settled local affairs. About middle of ninth century, Popes claim that the Church depends on the Papacy, and that the throne of St. Peter is the Judgment Seat of the world. (b) Some men who put forth this idea wanted it to seem older than it was. The forged Pseudo-Isidorean collection of Decretals. (So called because collection falsely attributed to Isidore bishop of Seville, a contemporary of Gregory the Great.) Includes false Donation of Constantine. (c) Nicholas the Great (Pope 858-867) asserted this idea most sharply. His contest with Lothair, King of Lorraine. Lothair's fever in Rome. The great prelates of Lorraine—their protests against new idea of Papal authority. Their submission. Nicholas claimed Popes granted power to Emperors by crowning. His pon-

tificate thus summed up by a chronicler: "Since the days of Gregory to our time, sat no high priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to Nicholas. He tamed kings and tyrants and ruled the world like a sovereign". (d) But soon after Nicholas died, lack of Imperial power the Papacy had helped to weaken, destroyed its influence. Feudal nobles of Italy, unrestrained by any powerful overlord, (a) plundered the Patrimony of St. Peter. (b) Then they seized papal tiara for its wealth and power. *e. g.* The pope carried from the altar. The trial of body of dead pope. His successor and judge strangled in prison. (c) *The pornocracy* (Theodora and Marozia) culminating in Octavian pope at nineteen in 755. Violence which had destroyed empire threatened to destroy papacy.

B. The universal institutions, the empire and the papacy, being helpless to maintain law or order in Christendom, the heads of two local institutions began to stem tide of violence and misery. About year 900, there arose, in two parts of Christendom, men strong enough to add to the name of King the power to maintain order. In England and in Germany, a father and son imitated, under different conditions, the work of Charlemagne. All four of these men—Alfred and Edward—Henry and Otto were great, but only Alfred and Otto have received the title, "the Great." ENGLAND. For Alfred the Great see Besant. Edward was said to be "less learned—equal in worth and of greater glory than his father". He was first ruler in the island to be called King of the English. His grandson Edgar was crowned, in 973, King of England, by a ceremony imitating the Imperial coronation. Eight tributary Kings of Britain were said to have rowed the barge he steered, and the King took Imperial titles. GERMANIA. In 918 Germania, one of the four or five kingdoms into which Empire had divided (kingdoms ruled by Kings under a nominal emperor) began to have an efficient government. (1) Retrospect. Miserable condition of Kingdom. Pagan tributary states of eastern border attacking. (a) Arnulf's brave fight up to 899. (b) Lewis the child. Nobles wanted weak throne. The Maygars. Their

attack on Italy 899. Their attack on Germania. New petition in litanies of Germania and Italia: "From the fury of the Magyar Good Lord deliver us". Bishop of Constance on situation: "The Germans are all fighting each other. Neighbour fights neighbour in the country. In the cities riot rages. The sickly child who bears the name of King cannot draw the sword to enforce law and justice." Hence commendations of freemen to nobles. (c) Condition so bad, nobles forced to crown a strong man to succeed Lewis the Child. But Conrad I could not keep order or beat Magyar. On his deathbed he said to his brother, "We lack luck and the right policy. Take the sword and crown to Henry, Duke of Saxony". (2) Reign of Henry. In 918 Henry I (the Fowler). (a) Conrad had tried to restore centralized empire of Charlemagne but Henry tried to make feudalized kingdom. Did not try to destroy power of four great Dukes, but made responsible for order. (b) Makes them obey. Fighting nobles respected victor in war above all men. If Magyars beaten Henry would be real overlord of Germany. But did not plunge into war. Agreed to tribute for nine years. Spent in preparation. Cavalry. Borrowed idea of Edward against Danes. Built border castles. Cities; increase of, among Germans. Inhabitants. At end of nine years Magyars invaded. Victory of Henry. Hailed as "Father of the Fatherland". (3) His son Otto the Great. (a) Otto keeps the limes. The Battle of Lechfeld (near Augsburg). The last barbarian host able to penetrate into heart of Empire. Hailed as Kaiser (Caesar); Emperor (defender of Christendom). (b) Unites Italia and Germania and restores Empire. (1) His title. As Emperor led knights over Alps. Married widow of King of Italia. Freed Church from oppression. Crowned Emperor of Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in 962. (2) His realm larger than Charlemagne. Larger than any Roman Emperor of west. Acknowledged as overlord in Francia. Made up in East what lacked in West. (3) Power as King of Germania base of power as Emperor. A feudal kingdom, but he concentrated power in his own

family. He was Duke of Saxony and Duke of Franconia. Brother—Bavaria. Son—Suabia. Son-in-Law—Lotharingia. Son, brother and cousin held archbishoprics of Mainz, Treves and Cologne. (4) Reform of papacy. Otto relied on Church and found best helpers among clergy. Therefore wanted Pope who understood spiritual duties of his office. Called council and deposed Octavian (John XII). But only sword could keep on the throne a pope free from tyranny of feudal Roman barons. Temporal dominion of Pope has always been the greatest hindrance to their spiritual duties. Sword of Ottos did keep Papacy somewhat free from tyranny of Italian tyrants or local Roman politics.

III. WE HAVE SEEN, THEN, THAT DATES CLUSTERED AROUND 918 MARK A TURN IN TIDE OF HISTORY.

After Charlemagne, increasing disorder reaching anarchy, helped by boats of Vikings and ponies of Magyars. Christendom rallied under Alfred (died 901) and Edward in England. Henry (918) and Otto in Germania. And, even in Francia, we have seen Rollo, in 911, turning from pirate into settler.

## LECTURE VI.

### The Church and the Empire from the Death of Otto the Great to the Papacy of Hildebrand.

I. THE HOLY EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION OTTO FOUNDED, WAS NOT AS STRONG AS IT SEEMED.

Reasons. A. It rested on the Dukes, jealous of royal power.

B. It bound Italia to Germania and Italians hated Germans.

C. It rested on the Church. And whenever the Church grew strong by imperial protection, Popes resented imperial control.

II. OTTO THE GREAT MET THESE DANGERS.

No ruler as able and powerful from Theodosius to end of the tenth century; except Charlemagne and Alfred.

III. SON AND GRANDSON (OTTO II *and* OTTO III) TOO IMPERIAL AND TOO LITTLE GERMAN.

Otto III promoted election of German Pope. For six hundred years previous, only one Pope born out of Italy. For two hundred and fifty years, only two born out of immediate neighbourhood of Rome. But, while younger Ottos planned to rule world from Rome, they lost control of German kingdom.

IV. THEREFORE TWO SUCCESSORS LEFT PAPACY AND ITALIA LARGELY TO THEMSELVES AND BUILT UP AGAIN POWER OF THRONE IN GERMANIA.

Result. Papacy again prize of local Roman politics. Pornocracy renewed. Younger branch of family of Theodora and Marozia. (Counts of Tusculum.) Used bribery rather than violence. Papacy again appanage of a great family. Offices of Patrician (civil ruler) and Pope kept in family. Benedict IX, Pope at twelve. His wickedness. Romans expel him and elect Sylvester III. Bene-

dict's brother, the Patrician, brought him back by force. Benedict sells Papacy to Gregory VI. Benedict's brother again reinstates him. The three Popes.

#### V. THE APPEAL OF HONEST CLERGY TO EMPEROR.

(1) Henry III. His piety. (2) His need of a reformed Papacy to help him in Germania and elsewhere. (3) The Synod of Sutri 1046. A German bishop, friend of Henry III, crowned Pope. Henry crowned Emperor same day. Beginning of an attempt to restore the Roman Church by Gothic vigor; somewhat analogous to the attempt of semi-barbari in Empire from 400 to 800. Papacy never relapsed into pornocracy. A succession of five German Popes.

Why this reform of Papacy successful in resisting relapse into pornocracy, when previous reforms of Ottos unsuccessful?

#### VI. REFORM IMPOSED BY EMPEROR NOW MET REFORM SPREADING FROM WITHIN.

A. The Cluniac Reform. (1) (Retrospect.) Corruption of many monasteries in ninth century. (2) 909 Monastery of Cluny founded to restore Rule of St. Benedict in its purity. Spread of branch convents. Influence of abbots of Cluny. (3) Greatest abbot, Odilo, held office for fifty years. Chief agent in arranging Truce of God in 1031. What it was. Odilo friend of Henry III. All over world monks anxious for reform of Church conferring every year with Odilo. These men and their friends helped the German popes, as much as the swords of the Imperial Knights, to hold their own against the greedy factions of Rome, seeking by force or fraud to control the wealth of the papal office. Two reforms, Imperial and Cluniac, finally united and broke pornocracy.

B. The ideal of men of Synod of Sutri. (1) The Pope—head of spiritual affairs of world and Emperor—defender of the Church and head of world in temporal affairs. (2) This ideal not new. The old mosaic of the Lateran which symbolized it. Three parts of mosaic. Above, Christ sending out apostles to convert the world. Below, on one side, Christ commissioning Constantine and Pope to rule world.

Other side, St. Peter commissioning Charlemagne and Pope. Men who held this ideal thought of Christendom as a medal, with head of Pope on one side and Emperor on other. (3) Defect of this ideal that it could not be made to work for actual government of world. Reasons (a) (b) (c). (a) If Pope punished sins, must punish sins of kings and emperors. Results of expelling a sinful ruler from Church, made his office impossible for him. (b) Archbishops, bishops, abbots, had civil as well as spiritual power. Both clergymen and fiefholders. Were they the "men" of the pope or of their civil overlord? (c) These two difficulties would inevitably lead to the question of ultimate authority. Did Emperor appoint Pope or Pope crown Emperor? Two-headed Austrian eagle. Ablest and best popes and emperors most apt to quarrel.

#### VII. THE RISE OF THE TUSCAN MONK HILDEBRAND (OF CLUNY) TO INFLUENCE AT ROME.

A friend of Odilo. Monks had gone to cells to save souls. Odilo wanted them to come out to save world. Hildebrand's ideal for the Church A. B. C.

A. Purity. (1) His ideal affected by monastic ideals and habits. The religious and secular life = higher (monks) life and lower (ordinary Christian) life. Therefore clergy must be separate. Things sinful for them not sinful for others. (2) The triple vow of monk. Poverty, chastity (confused with celibacy), obedience. (3) These three monastic virtues threatened among the ordinary clergy by three customs. a. b. c. (a) Simony = buying church offices for wealth that went with them. Could have been readily stopped by surrender of vast property of Church. But this expedient not apt to occur to a monk. Hildebrand wanted bishops of simple life, spending wealth of their dioceses for the Church. (b) Nicolaitism = marriage of clergy. Hildebrand fought for two reasons. Monk believed father of a family could not reach the highest holiness. Celibacy of clergy imposed by laws but not universally enforced. *e. g.* Province of Milan. Possible relation of clerical marriage to Simony.



Both (a) and (b) related to (c). Obedience of clergy to superiors and Church. Hildebrand thought a man without care for property or family ties more apt to be entirely devoted to Church. No local interests, would obey Pope. Summary: Hildebrand wanted to purify Church by making clergy as much like monks as possible.

B. Hildebrand wanted pure Church to become INDEPENDENT. (1) Situation intolerable to him. Tacit acknowledgment by clergy at Synod of Sutri (1046) of Imperial right of nomination, or at least veto, in Papal elections. Emperor was the first layman of world. But Pope first clergyman. Impious to Hildebrand that higher should be chosen to offices by less holy. (2) But no premature assertion. Did not want to renounce control of Empire, until Church could stand without its support. Afraid of falling back into Pornocracy. Cautious procedure toward independence. Henry IV a child without authority over rebellious German nobles, but Hildebrand asked the Dowager Empress consent for the inauguration of three popes. (3) The third took significantly the name of Nicholas II (after Nicholas the Great 858). This second Nicholas made two moves toward independence. (a) New method of electing popes. Cardinals. Vague reference to imperial right of confirming election. (b) Nicholas secured defenders for Papacy against Roman barons. The Normans of Sicily. How Normans in Sicily. The Norman knights of tenth century, roved from Rollo's dukedom over world. Like forefathers, sought in new ways gold and fighting. Hired to fight Saracens. Fiefs in Sicily. Formed feudal aristocratic confederation. Henry III and Popes had denied their title to their conquests. Leader now became "Duke by the Grace of God and St. Peter", a fiefholder of the Pope, whom he acknowledged as overlord of Italy. Three hundred Normans defended Nicholas II against anti-pope of the barons. (This is a counterpart of the papal confirmation in 1066 of the conquest of a larger island by William the Norman. But William never acknowledged that Pope was overlord of England. That was left

for his reckless descendant, John, 150 years later, when ideal of Hildebrand for papacy was triumphant in the world.) (4) Resistance to Hildebrand. His plans now suspected. Married clergy of North Italy and great prelates of Germania, rally against monks. Decree of a synod held at Rome: "The pope is elected by the help of Norman robbers and notorious bribery. Hildebrand, that son of Simon Magus, was the chief agent in this bargaining; for which both have incurred damnation". Anti-Monastic party set up anti-pope but Hildebrand's pope held his own. (5) At last Hildebrand chosen pope by acclamation. Introduced the Empress Dowager to come to his inauguration. Took name of the Great Gregory (Gregory VII). Gregory VII went beyond Nicholas II. Began a struggle with Henry IV. (6) A great struggle—a gigantic battle of ideals which lasted two hundred years and ended in temporary dissolution of Imperial power and authority. The center of Mediaeval History. There were, of course, during these two centuries, other institutions besides the Empire belonging to Christendom to whose history we cannot do more than allude. On the west, were England, Francia, the five little kingdoms of North Spain. On the north, the Baltic or Scandinavian Kingdoms. On the east, the Duchy of Poland and the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bulgaria. On the south, Sicily and Naples. The Popes thought of themselves as head of these extra imperial kingdoms, whose crowns they assumed the right to give or take away. And at the height of their power, in early thirteenth century, vindicated this claim, to some extent. Then they crushed Empire and, at end of century, nominated puppet emperors.

## LECTURE VII.

### The Struggle between the Church and the Empire.

#### I. WEAPONS OF THIS STRUGGLE.

In this gigantic struggle of 200 years,

A. Emperors relied on. (1) Unwillingness of German bishops to be controlled by Italian popes. (2) Roman nobles and faction of Roman people hostile to temporal power of popes. (3) Party in Italy which believed Popes ought to surrender wealth and attend to spiritual duties, leaving justice to emperors. Called Ghibellines (Emperor). Opponents called Guelfs (Pope). (4) The sword and spear of his knights.

B. Popes could rely on. (1) Rebellious feudal vassals of Emperors in Germania. (2) Help from extra imperial kingdoms; mainly the money he drew from them in ecclesiastical dues. But from Sicily and France soldiers. (2) The long road over the Alps and the fevers of Italia. (3) The dislike of some Italians to the rule of Germans. (4) Belief of most people in the world that he had the keys of heaven. Used by launching two sorts of curses. (a) The excommunication. Condemned a man to hell and as a result made him an outlaw. (b) The interdict. Suspended religious services in a given territory. Only population which seemed able to take these curses lightly, was the population of Rome.

#### II. CAUSE OF STRUGGLE.

The belief of Cluniac monks that Pope was supreme authority in the world over all things and persons. Different *occasions* for different stages. Struggle was intermittent.

#### III. OCCASIONS OF STRUGGLE.

A. First occasion of outbreak of this struggle caused by an ideal, was the question of investitures. Fought over for fifty years. (1) The question. Hildebrand had freed elec-

tion of popes from lay control. Wanted to free elections to bishoprics, and abbacies of Italia and Germania from lay control. Symbolic form of question. The ring and staff who should give them? Pope or Emperor? These officials belonged to two hierarchies. Fiefholders and clergymen. Was a bishop the Pope's "man" or the Emperor's? (2) The Struggle. Many kings and great vassals of extra imperial kingdoms used lay investiture. Papacy let alone for most part. Used all strength to break down imperial claims, Gregory's trumpet call for the fight. Bade bishops refuse investiture. "Might of emperors and kings like ashes and chaff against right of apostolic throne." Henry's answer was to depose the Pope. Gregory deposed Henry IV. German bishops excommunicated Pope. (3) Victory for the Church. Cathedral struck by lightning. Excommunicator died. Horror and rebellion. Henry had to promise his vassals to get absolution from the Pope. *The scene at Canossa* 1076. (4) The struggle resumed. Empire holds its own. Henry breaks his promises. Anti-Pope and anti-Emperor. Henry beats rebels and takes Rome. Gregory flees to Sicily. Henry IV crowned Emperor by anti-Pope. Popes raise new rebellion against Emperor headed by Emperor's own sons. (Monks and family.) Henry held the throne until death. (5) Vain compromises and inconclusive struggles. Henry V. The attempted compromise by surrender of property of Church. If no fiefs, no question of investiture. Pope, bitterly reproached by clergy, revokes his promise to surrender church property. New rebellion and anti-popes. Just before death Henry V agrees to compromise. (6) Church wins in question of Investiture. *The Concordat of Worms*, 1122. Emperor gave, to God, St. Peter and Catholic Church, free election and investiture, and swore to protect Church of Rome in all things. Pope granted all elections in presence of imperial representative, and investiture with fiefs by touching the scepter. Seeming compromise a triumph for Church. A truce for life of two Emperors.

B. Second occasion of struggle, restoration of imperial control in Italia threatening temporal power of Pope. This

stage to the death. Result extinction of imperial dynasty and suspension of authority of Emperor. (1) Frederick Barbarossa, of the new House of Hohenstaufen, the ablest and most powerful King of Germania since Otto the Great, wrote to Pope that he hoped "to restore in its ancient vigor the Roman Empire." Just what the Pope did not want. Frederick I occupied fiefs of the Patrimony of St. Peter in Italia. The legate with reproachful letter. The legate's speech. "Beneficia." Restoration of imperial control in Italia meant weakening of temporal power of Pope in Patrimony of St. Peter. (2) Pope could back two opponents to that restoration of imperial control in Italia. (a) Fight between Frederick and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. (Title and crown given by Papacy.) (b) Cities of North Italy. (Retrospect. Classic civilization created by urban populations. Semi-barbari tribes who were country dwellers. Cities therefore decayed after migrations. But this decay least marked in North Italy. And North Italian cities first to produce a new figure in mediaeval body politic, the burgher, or free citizen of a walled town, who was to beat knight in battle and rival noble in wealth. (More on burgher later.) By 1150, North Italian cities richer than surrounding nobles. Jealous of restoration of imperial power. But, at first, more jealous of each other. The two leagues. Milan and anti-Milan. Anti-Milan calls Frederick I to Italia. Restores imperial authority and taxes, installs governors and destroys Milan. (3) The quarrel. The proud legate elected Pope (Alexander III.) Frederick I sets up an anti-pope and takes Rome. Alexander flees to France. Frederick excommunicated. Rebellion calls him back to Germania. (4) Guelfs revive in Italia, and form Lombard League. The fortress of Alexandria. (5) Church triumphs. The battle of Legnano (1076). The Caroccio of Milan. The scene at Venice (1077). Triumph of Church. The legend. (6) Frederick I turns to diplomacy. Marriage of his son Henry VI to heiress of Sicily. Henry VI regains control of fiefs of the Church.

C. Third occasion of strife. The claims of the Pope.

Frederick II (the Magnificent) heir to Sicily and Germania at three years of age. At same time Innocent III becomes pope. His claims. "God has given to St. Peter not only the government of the universal Church but also of the entire world." Many extra imperial kingdoms (pro forma) acknowledged claim. Kings of Sweden, Denmark, England, Portugal, Aragon, Sicily, Hungary, Poland took an attitude more or less like that of John of England. Even Philip Augustus of France obliged by interdict to take back divorced wife. Power of Innocent. Council of Lateran 1215 united more than 1200 prelates. Determined to reform clergy and launch grand crusade of all Europe. Innocent III dies.

Up to the death of Innocent III, the grandson of Frederick Redbeard, Frederick II, seemed to admit that the power of the pope was supreme in the world. His mother left the infant Frederick II under the protection of Innocent III. The great pope faithfully supported the boy's right to the crown of Sicily. And the boy assumed it as a vassal of the pope. For fourteen years, civil war had been raging in Germany over the imperial crown. Innocent III had asserted his right to be supreme judge of the rival claims. Just before his death, he procured the election of Frederick to the empire. And, before long, Frederick II made plain that he did not propose to submit to the control of the papacy, by whose help he had gained the crowns of Sicily, Germany, Italy and the Empire.

Of these crowns, Frederick II set least store on the crown of the Empire; and next least on the crown of Germany. He was the first of all the rulers of the Empire to escape from the power of the mediaeval idea, that it was possible to restore the power of the Caesars, or even of Charlemagne. He realized that the European world could not be reduced to a uniform condition. The policy with which he ruled in Sicily, was exactly the opposite of his policy in Germany. In the north, he abandoned the attempt of his predecessors to repress the tendency toward the independence of the great feudal lords. He confirmed the rights

they claimed, gave them free hand, and tried to place on each of them the responsibility for preserving public peace in his own territories. He seemed content to have all the central authority which bound the estates of his great vassals together, relaxed. He was apparently willing to let Germania become a huge confederation of Princes, of which the King Emperor was the presiding head.

But he tried to apply to Sicily, the policy by which the kings of France and England had been trying, for more than a hundred years, to break down the power of the feudal nobles and rule their seats from one center, in the name of one common law. He created a standing army and navy. He destroyed many of the feudal castles, forbade duels, condemned to death any one who began private war, took the right of criminal prosecution from the fief-holders, and appointed royal judges to travel about doing justice without charge, to all men alike. He forbade all gifts or sales of land to the Church, took away the civil functions of the bishops and confined all the clergy to spiritual duties. He appointed royal governors for all cities.

It is easy to understand that such a policy, in Sicily, would arouse the fears of the Popes and the Lombard cities. What would become of the Patrimony of St. Peter and the self-government Milan and her allies had wrested from Frederick Redbeard, if his grandson should apply these ideas to central and north Italy?

It was long before the two forces came to a death grapple. But at last the Pope launched against Frederick the sentence of excommunication. The Emperor heard of it at Turin. He bade them open the treasury and bring out his crowns. Putting one on his head, he cried, "I have not yet lost my crowns and I will not without a bloody fight." The fight was bloody and for the Emperor it was a losing fight. The Pope proclaimed a crusade against him. None of the extra imperial kings would obey the call to make war on Frederick, but an anti-emperor rose in Germany and the Lombard cities renewed their league. The Emperor managed to hold his own until he died in 1250.

The fabric of his power went to pieces almost at once. His two sons and his grandson kept up the fight for Sicily until they perished in the struggle. The Imperial power ceased to exist. And what is spoken of by the historians as the Interregnum, occurred. Puppet emperors were set up by the German nobility; the Englishman Richard of Cornwall; the Spaniard Alfonso of Castile. One never came to Germany; the other came only for a short visit. The Pope claimed, without rebuke, the right to direct the election of an emperor. In one case the Pope ordered the electors to choose an emperor, or he and his cardinals would do it.

This great struggle between popes and emperors, not only destroyed the empire, it had a most unfortunate effect on the fortunes of the German and Italian kingdoms whose crowns the Emperor wore. All the present states of modern Europe had, by the end of the middle ages, achieved some sort of national unity except Germany and Italy. The chief reason for this delay and all the misery and blood it entailed, is the strife of Popes and Emperors. The chance for the establishment of common law and a king's peace in Germany and Italy, was lost in the struggle. For two hundred years after the death of Frederick II there was no law in Germany to stop private war. Any feudal proprietor might revenge his real or fancied wrongs on any neighbour he thought he could beat. In Italy, for lack of central authority the citizens of the Lombard cities, relieved from the imperial authority, gave themselves up to hate as a ruling passion. It reached among them a devilish intensity which seems to me unmatched in modern history. These cities, or the factions within them, grew ready to sacrifice anything in the world for the pleasure of vengeance on neighbours they disliked.

Several of the extra-imperial kingdoms escaped these worst results of feudal or municipal jealousy; notably the two most powerful, England and France. In these countries the sense of obligation to a nearby overlord had yielded, more or less, to a sense of loyalty to a king, who stood



for the interests of the commonwealth. We must look to see what had been going on, first in England, and then in France, between the beginning of the tenth century, when the Normans and Hungarians were checked, and the end of the thirteenth, when the family of the Hohenstaufen perished. But before we do that we must consider a series of wars in which all Christendom, imperial and extra-imperial, had during these centuries, joined at the call of its head the Pope.

## LECTURE VIII.

### The Crusades (Remarks to Supplement

Emerton 358 to 397.)

#### I. CRUSADES AND PAPAL INFLUENCE.

A. Crusades a strong proof of enormous influence of Papacy upon the minds of men of twelfth century. Emperors could not have launched, as the Popes did, between one and two millions of fighting men against Asia. Voice of Pope, voice of God. Idea not equally strong at all places and at all times. Strongest in Francia, weakest in Italia. Strongest between 1050 and 1150. After that Europe less and less ready to pour its fighting men upon Asia at word of Pope. After 1270 readiness gone. Pope vainly tried, for three hundred years, to launch another Crusade.

B. Voice of Pope most influential when he told men they ought to do what they wanted to do. *e. g.* German vassals and Lombard cities to rebel against Emperor. A crusade appealed to tastes and habits of knights. Monotony of castle life relieved by hunting and fighting.

#### II. MOTIVES OF CRUSADERS.

A. Religion strongest motive. Crusades armed pilgrimages to atone for sins. *e. g.* Louis VII of France. Conrad III of Germania.

B. Secular motives. Crusades also migrations. A minority of the crusaders were not pilgrims but settlers. Two sorts of: nobles and traders. Founded kingdom of Jerusalem. Adopted Eastern habits, but kept feudal ideas. Hence private war and alliances with the infidel. Ruling class would have been killed off but for stream of recruits from Europe and intermittent crusades. (The numbering of the Crusades.)

#### III. OCCASIONS OF CRUSADES.

A. The particular beliefs that caused crusades were that

bones of saints had miraculous power, that prayers at sacred places had a better chance of being heard than prayers made elsewhere, that pilgrimages pleased God and atoned for sin. Pilgrimage; its enormous proportions in eleventh century.

B. Bad treatment by Turks but attitude of Mohammedans more tolerant than that of Christians would have been.

C. Idea of crusade old. Suggested to Otto III about 1000 by Pope. Christian zeal more cause than Mohammedan intolerance.

#### IV. SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF CRUSADES.

The first crusade and the one usually called the sixth, were successful: First gained Jerusalem by war; the other regained by treaty. Other crusades failures—most of soldiers perished. But Jerusalem held for a hundred years. Fragments of kingdom for two hundred years more. Crusades, probably, delayed capture of Constantinople by Mohammedans for three hundred and fifty years.

#### V. PART OF STORY OF FIRST CRUSADE AS EXAMPLE OF CRUSADER'S SPIRIT.

A. Lack of organization or skill.

French—not King. Pope and manor owners. No organization—no military science. Mohammedans weaker but abler. Christians won because of Mohammedan dissension.

B. Horrible sufferings of crusaders. Second wave of Crusade, estimated at four hundred thousand, lured into mountains of Asia Minor and massacred.

C. Antioch and the Holy Lance. Could not have taken Antioch—but for food of Caucasians and instructions of Italian pirates. Its capture through treachery followed by their own investment by huge Mohammedan army. They offer to go home. Moslem answer "Death or Islam." Peter Bartholomew's dream. The Holy Lance. Victory. The ordeal of Peter.

D. Jerusalem. Take Jerusalem by assault (1099). Their piety. Their horrible cruelty. The burning of Jews. The blood in mosque of Omar.

#### VI. MOST SUBSEQUENT CRUSADES LED BY KINGS. SHOWED SUCH MILITARY SCIENCE AS WAS KNOWN.

Frederick Barbarossa as Crusader. Richard the Lion-hearted, of England, as Crusader.

#### VII. DECAY OF CRUSADING SPIRIT.

A. Innocent III launched three crusades. These made plain decay of crusading spirit.

B. Exploitation for worldly ends. (1) The fourth crusade hired by Venitians. Broke vow. Took Constantinople. (2) The horrible story of the Children's Crusade. The vision. The army of children. The King tries to stop. The Pope rather encourages. Fate of children. Punishment of scoundrels who exploited this superstitious zeal.

C. Frederick's success by lack of zeal. Frederick II the Magnificent (1215-1250) most successful of all leaders of Crusade. His familiar relations with Mohammedans. His diplomacy gets crown of Jerusalem. Horror excited by Frederick's friendly relations with infidels. Three times excommunicated.

D. Rebellious nobles of Kingdom of Jerusalem, encouraged by excommunication, plunder Egypt. Sultan retakes Jerusalem 1244.

E. St. Louis vainly tries to revive crusading spirit. Louis IX of France (St. Louis) attacks Egypt twice to force surrender of Jerusalem (1250 and 1270). Dismal failures. Prisoner on first; ransomed for 800,000 gold pieces. Died of pestilence in blockaded camp on second. Crusading impulse ended in defeat.

## LECTURE IX.

### Louis IX King of France. (St. Louis.)

I. Remarks on development of Kingdom of France.

A. Hugh Capet, sometimes called first King of France, not king of France in 987.

B. Power of Capetian house did not change much for a hundred years after him.

C. During twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Kingdom of France developed.

Three means: fighting, organization, growth of loyalty. Bulk of fighting twelfth century. Other two mainly thirteenth. Philip II (Augustus) most conspicuous exponent of first means of making Capetian dynasty powerful kings. St. Louis most conspicuous exponent of other means.

II. Philip Augustus' son, Louis VIII, completes his father's work of conquest.

III. The reign of Louis IX (St. Louis).

A. The regency of Blanche of Castile. The danger of a child's reign at that time. Hatred of barons. Attempted feudal reaction. Terrible sufferings of peasants in war. Triumph of queen regent. Louis at majority receives heritage of power undiminished.

B. The personal rule of Louis. Uses peace for organization. (1) His attitude toward cities. (a) Opens careers in royal service to burghers. (b) But reign lessened political power of cities. Royal judges. Royal officials defend people against oligarchies of cities at cost of liberty. Interference in finances increasing debt. Liquidation obtained by surrender of charters. Result cities of France became largely royal. (2) Administrative reforms. Ordinance regulating bailiffs (baillis). Prohibition, etc. Superintendents ("righters of wrongs"). (3) Division of the royal council. (a) The King's council. (b) The chamber of accounts. The royal income. The reform of the currency. Scarcity of money relieved. Poor coinage repressed. Royal

domain open only to King's money. Royal coin made universal standard. (c) The Parlement. (*Digression.* The vulgar error of confusing the English Parliament and the French Parlement. Mentioned to call attention to *warning*. The danger of drawing historical parallels too easily. The difference between surface appearance and reality of things. Circumstances alter cases.) The French Parlement a court appointed by King, not a representative or hereditary legislative body. Parlement of Paris as supreme tribunal of common law of nation. Helped by prohibition of ordeal of battle. Summary. The purpose of St. Louis. People's good—his will. St. Louis believer in absolutism. His decision about the struggle between English crown and barons. (5) Character of St. Louis. No ruler ever thought less of pleasure and more of duty. His character helped growth of France into a nation by giving center for loyalty. St. Louis' goodness typically early mediaeval. Influences that were weakening early mediaeval ideals already at work in world. Critical spirit which was to substitute Humanism for Scholasticism. Ideas of state and nation killing feudalism. But nevertheless religion of St. Louis mediaeval. (a) Ascetic. Hurt his body and denied his tastes as part of his religion. His humility in apparel. His shrewd advice to son-in-law, etc., shows that this was result of penitence. His austerities. (b) His constant worship. (c) The very depth of his religious feeling made him, as a mediaeval man, cruel to Jews and heretics. Anecdote showing his idea of way to discuss religion with Jews. Backed introduction of Papal inquisition into France. Its terrible slaughter of heretics.

His ideal for a king: Honesty, maintain peace and justice, avoid war with Christians, destroy sin and heresy. The faithfulness he showed in keeping it.

Introductory note to Lectures X, XI, XII.

History records the memorable deeds of notable men. But history is not a collection of unusual specimens of the genus homo. It is the story of a life that continues though

men die. For there is a life common to all the men of a generation. No man lives to himself, and men are notable for history because they have affected this common life. And, in our mind, no generation lives to itself. The common life which belongs to a generation, seems to come out of the past and to go into the future. This common, continuous life of nations, is too complex to understand perfectly. And even he who could comprehend it, would find it too vast to be fully told. Nevertheless we keep trying to tell parts of the story of this common life of man. The laws a generation enforces and hands down to its descendants, are records of this common continuous life. Its most complete symbol is government, which may change frequently and yet abide for centuries. Its most dramatic display is a war, when masses of men are led, by interest, pride or passion, to band together for the slaughter of other masses of men. But laws and governments are, in a sense, only the guardians of this common continuous life of a nation or group of nations; most wars are hideous debauches of its misdirected energies. The noblest manifestations of it, are seen in things the older historians were prone to neglect. The improvement of industrial arts and the growth of skill in making economic forces work together, these results of the common wisdom of generations, which put the danger of hunger and cold farther from more men and women, belong to history. The organization of society, which makes life more orderly and pleasant, the growth of that heritage of knowledge which teachers hand on to pupils, the increase in the power to express the sense of beauty in the fine arts, the changing nature or the growing influence of religious belief; these things, in a nation or group of nations, are the finest manifestations of that common, continuous life whose story history tries to tell. The great pleasure and interest to be found in following the development of the fine arts from 800 to 1300, I have no time to even suggest. But in the three following lectures I will briefly touch on some of the other noblest manifestations of the life of the early middle ages.

## LECTURE X.

### Cities and the Third Estate.

#### I. THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN CITIES.

The Roman Empire grew out of a city. And it may be spoken of as a great combination of cities. (In Gaul alone 112.) (A) A century after power of these municipalities broken down and Empire made a centralized bureaucracy, Empire declined. Roman prosperity, like ours, rested on agriculture. Depression of its agriculture by taxes meant in the end decay of urban prosperity. (B) Result was the breaking of the Limes. Barbarian immigrants country dwellers. Farmers and fighters. From sixth century trade almost suspended. (See obstacles mentioned in Robinson.) Cities ceased to count for much. (C) In tenth century only two classes to be reckoned with as political factors. The clergy and the fief holders or nobles.

#### II. THE RISE OF THE MEDIAEVAL CITIES.

(Often Roman cities revived.) Begins 10th century. In Francia explained by Mr. Robinson. Military cities under Otto the Great in Germania explained in lectures. These newly risen cities had some power over their own affairs. A. Result. (1) The burgher. The political power of these cities vastly increased by a change taking place in Europe from end of tenth to beginning of thirteenth century. By 1200 this change had added to European society another characteristic figure, the burgher. What he was. A merchant belonging to a family possessing a hereditary right to hold office in a more or less self governing city. (2) The Third Estate. These burghers added to the two estates or classes of earlier mediaeval times, the ecclesiastical nobles, or clergy, and the lay nobles, a third estate, the citizens or burghers.

B. The process of development of this class. (1) Complex, slow and varied. No two cities exactly alike in time,



manner or results of this change. No general statement about it without some exception. (2) Chief cause of this political and social development, was economic change. Lack of communication between communities. See Robinson. Remember also private war. But commerce was never entirely dead. Paths of sea open. Cities of South France and Italy sent out ships. Therefore first to increase in size, wealth and power. (3) The liberty of local government which resulted from this development. Some cities of Italy gained in eleventh century. Others followed and soon after battle of Legnano, many cities of North France, Germany and England (under Philip Augustus, Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa) had considerable liberty in managing own affairs.

C. How this power of local government won. (Retrospect.) (1) The opposition. The two older estates fought desperately. The clergy. The bishop's opinion: "There are three noisy heads yea four hard to keep quiet," etc. (2) How this opposition was met. (a) By power of association. The guilds. At first industrial or religious. Resemblance between development of feudalism and of Third Estate. Economic and social arrangement became governmental. (b) Peaceable struggle. Communes, headed by such merchant guilds, usually gained liberty from control peaceably. Commonest way money. Sometimes played one rival overlord against another. A few intelligent overlords who promoted growth of cities. (c) Fighting. But some cities had to fight. *e. g.* The plucky Flemish commune. The city of Laon and its sporting episcopal tyrant. The savage fight for liberty. (d) Symbols. Why the victorious noble in such a fight burnt charter, broke seal and pulled down belfry. Symbols of the civic corporation, an artificial personality with a life of its own independent of the lives of its members.

D. Relation to feudalism. These artificial personalities came into existence against will of two feudal classes, but nevertheless entered into feudal organization of society, as vassals and as overlords. In South France and Italy vas-

salage nominal. In Germany up to 1246 rather strict. Then relaxed. Many cities became for a time independent oligarchies. Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen are to-day states of the German Empire. The city as vassal. Homage. The city as overlord. Its fiefs. Its rights. Justice. Private war. How power varied. Italy and South France. England. The strange right of burning and destroying houses in North France. The curious political situation resulting from feudalism and chartered rights. Inhabitant not equivalent to citizen. The various jurisdictions within the walls.

G. The non-independent type of city. (1) What it was. The cities whose charter guaranteed certain privileges without self government. Results of willingness of intelligent lords to encourage urban growth. Four hundred of this type in North France by year 1200. (2) Advantages. (a) Safer. Less jealousy from overlords. (b) Less independent but more democratic. Towns of independent type governed by oligarchies of rich merchants. Hence less peaceful than cities of non-independent type. (c) Freedom from factional strife. The factions of the merchant oligarchy. The houses of the Italian cities. The podesta; an outsider hired to conduct government.

The nobles of Venice, Florence and some other Italian cities; their unique position.

Venice, her great wealth and power. Escapes results of factional spirit. Hence one of few Italian cities not to lose liberty in fourteenth century by rise of a tyrant. Duration of her government. Extraordinary power in early 16th century. Their economic origin suggests that Venetian nobles ought really to be classified among third estate. Power based not on land but on trade.

## LECTURE XI.

### The Church in Early Mediaeval Times.

I. THE THING WHICH MOST DISTINGUISHED MIDDLE AGES FROM MODERN TIMES WAS OVERMASTERING INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH.

(a) The sacraments and life. Baptism or hell. Confirmation or outlawry. The necessary miracle of the mass. Could not establish family without blessing of Church. Feared to die without extreme unction. (b) Great part of law administered by Church courts. Church controlled education. Clergy only educated class to 1100. And comparatively few lay men up to 1300. Heresy a crime. (c) Claimed political power. Taxed. Sacraments had to be paid for and tribute to Pope in shape of fees, etc. Church raised armies. Political authority—gave and took away crowns, etc. Innocent III first deposed John, and then declared Magna Charta null and void. Relation of mediaeval town to the Church building typifies mediaeval life.

II. THE RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE OF LIFE OF MEDIAEVAL TIMES ON THE CHURCH.

Like people like priest. The illustration of a Chinese child brought to America.

III. BUT CLERGY, UNLIKE FEUDAL BARONS, INFLUENCED MORE THAN THEY WERE INFLUENCED.

Why? Because ideas and precepts of New Testament opposed many customs and habits of mediaeval society. These ideas and precepts enabled clergy to restrain some customs and habits. *e. g.* Truce of God. Church corrupted by mediaeval vices, but still almost only influence making for good. Difficulty of understanding beauty of some mediaeval lifes. *e. g.* St. Francis. Avoid the philistine attitude of the man who thinks everybody different from people he knows, a fool or barbarian.

IV. THREE EVIL TENDENCIES WHICH LIMITED GOOD IN-

FLUENCE OF THE CHURCH. (The first is unquestioned by any serious historian.)

A. Tendency to corruption of clergy; *i. e.*, neglect of duty to teach and live by ideas of New Testament. Cause same as cause of corruption in public service. Bad motives of those who sought office—pride, greed of power. Simony = bribery. This corruption chief cause of spread of heresy. Hence St. Francis and St. Dominic, trying to restore influence weakened by corruption, insisted on poverty to remove temptation to this corruption. Corruption of older monastic orders by wealth. Franciscans and Dominicans soon abandon founders' ideal.

B. Tendency to formalism. (Denied by most R. C. historians. Reasons I give for, denied by some Protestant historians.) Formalism means aptness to substitute rites for precepts. (1) This is a distortion of mediaeval doctrine. Sacraments not supposed to save people who did not follow in heart. But, as matter of fact, there was a tendency on part of some clergy to let people believe outward sign was the inward grace. (2) Causes. (a) I think chief cause was belief that religion was an institution and not a truth; that, if traditional Church were destroyed, truth could not survive. Whether this explanation true or not, two things are certain. (b) There was a tendency to formalism among people. Lawless man would regard himself as good son of Church. Corrupt clergy winked at. Rebukes of honest clergy weakened by (c) The Church treated heresy and schism, however honest, as worse than wickedness. (Make distinctions. Man who believes truth depends on an institution, may reasonably believe heretic more dangerous than murderer, but *not* more guilty.) Excommunication of Raymond of Toulouse for refusing to kill his heretic subjects. King John's vices spared. His refusal to appoint Papal candidate for archbishopric of Canterbury brought excommunication.

C. Temporal power of clergy. (Retrospect.) *First stage.* Arose at time of migrations of 5th century. When government at Constantinople weak, bishops took over civil

functions. Especially bishop of Rome. Legacies of land. Huge estates of Papacy in Italia, Gaul, Africa, Asia, Dalmatia. By time of Gregory the Great, popes repaired aqueducts, hired troops, etc. *Second stage.* Carolingians endorsed this combination of civil power and spiritual authority by erecting States of Church. Similar things happened to other bishops. *Third stage.* Growth of feudalism affects civil power of clergy. Under feudalism, ownership of land meant government. "Fief and justice go together." Hence bishops raised fighting men and held courts. Clergy forbidden arms. But simony brought in younger sons of nobles. Hence fighting bishops. *e. g.* (1307) Bishop of Durham. Christian Archbishop of Mainz and his spiked club. *Fourth stage.* Church half accepts. Church could not well rebuke because of clergy in crusades. The crusade against Albigenses. Clergy in arms under Legate of Pope. The great killing. The reported saying of the Legate. The bishop's exhortation: "For, in the name of Jesus Christ, I will be your surety at the day of judgment, that all who die in this glorious combat will obtain the eternal recompense of the martyr's glory." Summary of four stages all of which were to large extent natural results of different historical situations. *Fifth stage.* Popes claimed a temporal power given, not by men, but by God. Popes of thirteenth century claimed sole right to crown. *i. e.* Pope overlord of world. No idle boast. Sanctioned by Councils. Meaning of Oecumenical Council. From 325 to 1300 thirteen. Six, in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, indorsed Papal claims. Astonishing degree of assent from civil rulers. Kings of Sicily, Portugal, England, Norway, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria acknowledged. The council of Lyons 1274 and the realm of the Pope. Livonians, Pomeranians, Prussians and Finns recently converted. Ambassador from ruler of Mongols asking for baptism. Constantinople (in hands of Latin Kings) sent ambassadors acknowledging supremacy of Popes over Greek Church. Such temporal power apt to increase tendency to corruptness and formalism.

*Moral condition of early mediaeval times* (from 800 to 1250). It is very hard to estimate correctly the moral condition of our own times; still harder to estimate the morality of a past age. But some evils evidently prevailed to a greater extent than at present. Ignorance, superstition and caste feeling. For lack of space I will speak only of the third. Caste feeling in mediaeval times was stronger than the respect for general law. A man was apt to think more of being a member of a guild than of being inhabitant of a city. There was one law and one court for the clergyman—another for the noble—another for the citizen—another for the serf. And different parts of what we now call the same country, had very different laws. Landed property meant government; a sort of private government to which those who lived on the land were subject.

Each man thus possessed of a private government, or each class of men, or each guild of men, stood firmly for their rights as against all other men outside of their government. If they stood for their rights with the sword, they were not conscious of any offense in defending their own law against men outside of it. They were guilty of riot only when they broke their own law. They had a very weak sense of a common law defending the commonwealth. The very idea of the Roman "*lex*," extending over all to maintain common order, was gone from the minds of most men.

The Church and the throne were the two institutions which worked to break down this caste feeling. The Church taught men a common religion, which made them all stand before God on a common level. Wherever the throne grew strong, it promoted the influence of the idea of a law of the realm, a king's justice, above all particular laws. This idea began to have power in England early in the twelfth century. And in the reign of Henry II the phrase "common law" was current.

It is hard for us to understand the man of the early middle ages chiefly because he lacked this idea of a common

law. Let me try to translate the situation into modern terms, by showing you the signs of a revival of his attitude, to the great danger of the Republic. The most serious problem of our day, is the relation between capital and labour. It is not an insoluble problem, unless it leads to such a revival of the mediaeval feeling of caste, as to destroy the reverence for common law standing for the commonwealth. On one side of this dispute, stands the corporation; an artificial personage like the commune. On the other side, is the union; a guild or association of men working at a certain trade. Is it not evident that the officers of some corporations, have conspired against the law, either by breaking it secretly, or by keeping its letter and evading its intent? And some of them have claimed that it is right for them to do this, for the sake of the corporations they represent. On the other hand, have not some members of labour unions broken the law by violence against scabs, and claimed that it was right, because no public peace ought to be maintained to the injury of the rights of labour?

Now these bribing breakers of law in the interests of a corporation, these violent breakers of law in the interests of a union or guild, are reverting to a mediaeval condition, a caste feeling unrestrained by reverence for common law. (Warning to student. This is an analogy, not a comparison. The *states of mind* are similar; the things and conditions compared are not exactly alike. *Remember that the conditions of one age are never just like those of another.* People who forget this are often fooled by history.) The lack of reverence for common law led to the worst feature of mediaeval life; its violence. Private war was constantly going on. And, to the misery thus produced, there was added brigandage by gangs of men, reduced to poverty, or habituated to crime, by these disorders recognized by custom.

## LECTURE XII.

### Learning in the Early Middle Ages. The Universities—Scholasticism.

I. AT END OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY LEARNING OF WESTERN EUROPE WAS CENTERED IN ITS UNIVERSITIES.

Kingdoms of Spanish peninsula 5. France 5. England 2. States of Italy 10. Of two kinds.

A. Law, governed by students.

B. Theology, governed by teachers.

II. TO UNDERSTAND THEIR RISE WE MUST TAKE RETROSPECT FROM BARBARIAN IMMIGRATIONS.

A. To foundation of universities. (1) Learning, like trade, declined until clergy and monks were only learned class. (2) In sixth century, there grew up among them objection to studying anything but Bible and Church fathers. Gregory the Great's warning against "idle vanities of secular men." This threw away best that had been said and done and known by past generations, except in regard to religion. (3) Result. Clergy less able to understand Bible and unable to defend religion against superstition = unreasonable beliefs growing from prevailing ignorance. *e. g.*, ordeal and wager of battle. What would Cicero or St. Paul have thought of either? Vain protest against by Agobard Archbishop of Lyons (died 940). Perpetual miracle *vs.* use of faculties. Jerusalem—Saracens. Rome—Goths, etc. (4) This fear of secular learning not universal. Irish Church. English Church. Charlemagne turns to Alcuin for help in (5) his reform of education. His school system went to pieces (about 840) but some schools survived as cathedral schools. (6) Some Cathedral schools became universities. *e. g.* Paris oldest, largest, most powerful university, north of Alps. (7) Paris typical of all the others. All taught in same language, and same way of looking at the world



prevailed in all of them. This way of looking at the world called

B. SCHOLASTICISM, WHICH WAS IN VIGOUR AT THE DEATH, IN 1274, OF THOMAS AQUINAS, THE GREATEST OF THE SCHOLASTICS.

(1.) Remarks on: (a) Scholasticism related to learning as feudalism related to society and politics. Not a system. Varied very much in different times and places; but all scholastics were somewhat alike. And that general resemblance in the way teachers of cathedral schools and the universities some of them grew into, looked at the world, from 1000 to 1300, is what we call scholastic. (b) But remember scholasticism forming when feudalism at height. (Middle of eleventh century.) And when scholasticism at height (about 1250) feudalism in many parts of Europe declining. (c) Idea of scholasticism harder to give than idea of feudalism. But necessary to try, e. g., the phrases "scholastic discussion," "a scholastic treatise."

(2) Best way is to look at method of teaching in universities during mediaeval times. (a) The curriculum. Seven liberal arts. The trivium. The quadrivium; Arithmetic, Astronomy, Geometry and Music. Poor text-books. Half ignorant teachers. The trivium, Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic. Trivium chief parts of curriculum, and, of trivium emphasis on Logic. Chief exercise debate, *e. g.*, The travelling debater. (b) Reasons for emphasis on logic and debate. Afraid of Latin literature (as explained). Logic safe. Neither Christian nor pagan. Man might practice debate against a doctrine without being a heretic. Use of logic did not require much knowledge. The syllogism about a man striped orange and black, as an example of bad natural history but good logic. When books and knowledge increased at end of tenth century, habit of accepting tradition remained, e. g., Aristotle, Knights of Round Table, etc. C. Mental habits of scholars. Did not care much to criticize accepted ideas or traditional facts. Interested in deducing terms or ideas from these. Such results of logic they were apt to treat as things. They built great systems

of thought by piling up logical deductions—were apt to think these creations of their mind were the world. This habit shown by chief controversy. It was about the nature of Universals. (Refresh your memory about the meaning of this term by reference to Inductive Logic, by J. G. Hibben, pages 12 and 13.) Orthodox opinion realism, *i. e.*, that the individual thing exists only by virtue of the universal idea. *Universalia ante rem*. Combated by Nominalists, *i. e.*, that universals are mere names existing only in mind. *Universalia post rem*. Abelard's compromise conceptualism. Universals are more than words because in all minds; but no existence apart from individual things. *Universalia in re*. Generation after generation debated. Question dead now because deductive logic no longer supreme topic and instrument of learned discussion.

#### C. THE GROWTH OF UNIVERSITIES.

(1) North of Alps, type ruled by teachers, *e. g.*, Paris. About 1200 A. D. teachers of cathedral school got charter for their *universitas* or guild. Then, as clergymen, got a bull from Pope approving guild. Scholars regarded as apprentices to art of teaching. Degree of Doctor meant a passed master. (2) In Italy. Student type, *e. g.*, Bologna. Old Roman teachers never entirely died out in Italian cities. Lay learning survived there as trade did. Most useful subject was Roman law. Why more useful there? City school of Bologna grew more and more famous as school of Roman law. Irnerius (beginning of 12th century) like Abelard. Drew students. Students formed four groups. *Ultramontanes* (define), Lombards, Tuscans, Romans. As aliens had no "law" in Bologna. Therefore (about 1200) organized for protection and to promote their object-study. These four universities, or guilds of students, amalgamated into one. Professors formed a guild or *universitas* and granted degrees, but student *universitas* managed other affairs. Salaries from student guild and city. City finally restricted chairs to citizens of Bologna. How students held their own against city and professor's guild. Boycott on a professor. Cession against city. Power of rector of student universi-

tas. (3) No strong idea of moral discipline in universities of either type. Conditions of student life. Violence, *e. g.*, A specimen Oxford town and gown row. (4) Learned world organized, by methods prevalent in non-ecclesiastical and non-noble ranks of society, according to the ideal expressed by the custom of the guild and the character. Tenacious of privilege, lacked idea of common law. This, as we have seen, worst vice of early middle ages. (5) Even lay universities of Italy not without strong clerical influence. The Canon law added to Roman law. Gratian organized study at Bologna in first half of 12th century. Importance of Canon law because of temporal power of clergy. Alexander III (1158-1181) a learned canonist. From his time on, monk replaced on throne of St. Peter by secular clergymen learned in Canon law. Law, which in Italian universities occupied the leading position held in the North by theology, divided into two branches. The Guelf stood by Canon law. The Ghibelline stood by Roman law.













1911

HISTORY OF WESTERN  
EUROPE

IN THE MIDDLE AGES

SOPHOMORE COURSE SECOND TERM



## BOOKS REQUIRED IN THE COURSE

This list is not the same as the list last year.

1. Robinson; History of Western Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.44.
2. Emerton; Mediaeval Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.35.
3. Eginhard; Life of Charlemagne, translated by S. E. Turner. \$0.30.
4. Robertson; The Making of the English Nation. Scribner's. \$0.45.
5. Seignobos; History of Mediaeval Civilization. Scribner's. \$0.67.
6. Hutton, W. H.; King and Baronage. Scribner's. \$0.45.
7. Hutton, W. H.; Philip Augustus. Macmillan. \$0.68.
8. Bryce; The Holy Roman Empire. Macmillan. \$1.35.
9. { The Calendar.  
The Outline Maps to be bought at the University Book Store.
10. Atlas of European History. Earl W. Dow. \$1.35.  
The Atlas and the Robinson will be useful for Junior History.

Any of these books can be bought by members at the University Book Store at the price affixed to each.

It will be necessary to own Robinson, the Calendar, the Maps and the Atlas.

Buy or order these *now*. It is better to own the other books. But if you do not wish to buy them, you may read them in the library, where a number of copies have been provided. The proportion to the size of the class of copies provided, is larger than that provided at some universities. But it will not be large enough, if everybody puts off using the books until the last possible moment. A rule of the course prevents an instructor from accepting the excuse of inability to get a book.

The following map exercises are part of the required work of the course. Six maps are to be prepared out of class and some simple questions are to be answered on outline maps in class. The maps must be handed *on time* to your instructors, not to the lecturer. The larger maps for this purpose can be procured at the College Book Store and the price includes the smaller maps to be used in class,

which, to avoid confusion, will be issued at each exercise as required. Questions to be answered on an outline map may form part of any general test.

#### First Week.

Roman Empire. Dow pg. 4. To be done out of class and handed in on Tuesday.

In Class; locate on an outline map furnished for the purpose Rome, Constantinople, the boundary between the two eastern and two western Prefectures, The Kingdom of Theodoric.

#### Second Week.

To be done before Class and handed in: The Empire of Charlemagne. Dow pg. 7. Mark distinctions of governed and tributary states.

In Class; locate the chief seas, mountain ranges and rivers of western Europe as shown in Dow, pg. 3.

#### Fourth Week.

To be done in Class; Europe after the Treaty of Verdun.

#### Fifth Week.

Europe in 10th century; to be done <sup>out of</sup> ~~in~~ Class; due Tuesday.

#### Seventh Week.

In Class; Locate Venice, Milan, Legnano, The States of the Church, the Kingdom of Sicily. Dow 13<sup>2</sup>.

#### Eighth Week.

In Class; The Crusaders States. Dow 9<sup>2</sup>.

#### Ninth Week.

To be done before Class and handed in; France at the Accession of Henry II of England. Dow 11<sup>2</sup>.

In Class; English possessions in France at the close of the reign of Philip Augustus. Robinson, pg. 129.

#### Fourteenth Week.

Two maps to be done out of Class and handed in; France at the Beginning of the Hundred Years' War; France after the Treaty of Bretigny. Dow 12.

In Class; France in 1429. Dow 12. Locate Paris, Agincourt, Crécy, Poitiers, Calais, Paris.

## CALENDAR OF CLASS EXERCISES

The student is expected to consult this Calendar, to report for lectures and to be prepared on assignments at the proper dates. Recitations on assignments may be either written or oral. All assignments *include* the first and last page mentioned. Any conditioned student, whose instructor reports that his work has been unsatisfactory during the term, will be required to repeat the course.

All lectures and tests at 8.30.

### First Week.

The Roman Empire. The Pax Romana. The limes separating civilization from barbarism. The armed migrations of the barbarian tribes break the limes in the fifth century. Consequent disintegration of the Roman State west of the Adriatic.

Monday, Feb. 13. Lecture at 8.30.

Tuesday, Feb. 14. ROBINSON, Chapters I, II and III + Seignobos, I to 22.

Wednesday, Feb. 15. Lecture 8.30.

### Second Week.

The Semi-barbari try to restore the Roman State by Gothic Vigour. The Mediterranean world splits into two parts. The Romans build up the Roman Church. The Mohammedan migration partly destroys Roman civilization.

Monday, Feb. 20. ROBINSON, 44 to 66 + Seignobos, 22 to 52.

Tuesday, Feb. 21. Lecture III, 8.30.

Wednesday, Feb. 22. Vacation.

### Third Week.

The Franks halt the Mohammedan migration. Growth of their dominion. Charlemagne with the help of the Roman Church succeeds in partly restoring, west of the Adriatic, the Roman State by Gothic vigour. A poor imitation of the great original but the best government of western Europe for centuries.

Monday, Feb. 27. ROBINSON, 67 to 91 + Seignobos, 52 to 62.

Tuesday, Feb. 28. Eginhard, Life of Charlemagne.

Wednesday, March 1. Written test on all previous work including lectures, at the lecture hour, in the lecture room.

#### Fourth Week.

The Teutons were unable to understand the Roman idea of the State and therefore Charlemagne's Empire disintegrated at his death. None of his descendants could hold his scepter. During this disintegration new barbarian invasions from all sides. Triple divisions of the Empire. Under the growing feudal organization of society, functions of government were associated with the holding of land and individuals had no protection unless connected with some part of this feudal organization. Intermittent war among rapacious feudal magnates. The Church undefended against feudal violence sinks into the Pornocracy. Drift toward disorder. Anything resembling the Pax Romana, or rule of general law disappears.

Monday, March 6. ROBINSON, 92 to 119 + Seignobos, 63 to 85.

Tuesday, March 7. Emerton, 478 to 508.

Wednesday, March 8. Lecture on Normans and Chivalry at 8.30.

#### Fifth Week.

About beginning of tenth century signs of coming improvement visible in three parts of the ancient Roman world:

in the former Roman province of Britain under Alfred the Great;

in France the foundation of the Monastery of Cluny and Rollo taking Normandy as a fief;

in the Eastern division of Charlemagne's Empire under Henry the Fowler. His son Otto the Great unites Germania and Italia, takes imperial crown at Rome and establishes the Roman Empire of the German Nation. Its Emperors think themselves successors of the Emperors of Ancient Rome. The ideal of this Roman Empire of the German Nation; two heads of the world, Pope and Emperor.

Monday, March 13. ROBINSON, 133. 134. Besant, 22 to 47 + 82 to 110 + 113, 114 + 139 to 145 + 178 to 181.

Tuesday, March 14. ROBINSON, 148 to 152 + Bryce 88 to 125—(110 to 115) + Emerton 141 last paragraph to 142 + 561 last para. to 564.

Wednesday, March 15. Lecture at 8.30.

## Sixth Week.

The Emperors try to restore the spiritual character of the Church. The Synod of Sutri. The influence of Cluny tries to restore spiritual power of the Church from within the Church. The ideal of Gregory VII (Hildebrand).

The ideal of Gregory VII causes strife between Popes and Emperors. First stage of this struggle: the question of investiture. Apparent Papal victory at Canossa. The Concordat of Worms closes first stage of the struggle.

Monday, March 20. ROBINSON, 153 to 163 + Emerton, 185 to 209.

Tuesday, March 21. ROBINSON, 164 to 172 + Emerton, 212 to 254.

Wednesday, March 22. Written test on all work since March 1st, at the lecture hour, in the lecture room.

## Seventh Week.

The strife between Popes and Emperors renewed over fiefs in Italy by Frederick Barbarossa (Hohensaufen). Lombard league backs the Pope and beats Frederick at Legnano. Pope triumphs over Emperor at Venice. The Papacy at height of its power. Innocent III fulfills ideals of Gregory VII (Hildebrand) Frederick II (The Magnificent) attacks the Church, Sicily.

Monday, March 27. ROBINSON, 173 to 180 (para. 70) + Emerton, 271 to 274 + 282 to 312.

Tuesday, March 28. ROBINSON, 180 (para. 70) to 185 + Emerton, 314 to 343.

Wednesday, March 29. Lecture, 8.30.

## Eighth Week.

Complete triumph of the Papacy at the death of Frederick II. The Crown of Sicily given to Charles of Anjou brother of St. Louis King of France. He sends the last of the Hohenstaufen to the scaffold. The Empire is practically suspended. It is revived as a German institution. The effects upon Germany of this long struggle with the Papacy. The German Constitution.

In the Crusades, a great common military enterprise sustained intermittently during this struggle,

Christendom unites at the call of the Popes to attack the Mohammedan world.

Monday, April 3. ROBINSON, 185 to 186 + Emerton, 352 to 356 + Bryce, 212 to 243.

Tuesday, April 4. ROBINSON, 187 to 200 + Emerton, 358 to 397.

Wednesday, April 5. Lecture, The Crusades, at 8.30.

Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Week.

A very brief account up to 1300 of two of the extra imperial Kingdoms which formed during this struggle. Ninth and Tenth Week.

France, with special reference to the reigns of two Kings: Philip the August, who built up the French monarchy chiefly by war, and St. Louis, who consolidated it in peace.

Monday, Ap. 10. ROBINSON, 120 to 128 (para. 50.) + Philip Augustus by Hutton, 1 to 14 + 86. 87 + 112 to 132 (omit details of crown ministers, 126 to 129 and expand account of crown local officers by Emerton, 425 to 429) + Hutton, 139 + 150 to 152 + 156 to 158 + 227, 228.

Tuesday, Ap. 11. ROBINSON, 128 to 132 + Seignobos, 120 to 139 + 173 to 178 + Emerton, 430 to 434.

Wednesday, Ap. 12. Test on all work since March 22nd, in the lecture room at the lecture hour.

Monday, Ap. 17. Vacation.

Tuesday, Ap. 18. Vacation.

Wednesday, Ap. 19. Lecture, St. Louis 8.30.

Eleventh and Twelfth Week.

England from the Norman invasion to 1300.

Eleventh Week.

Monday, Ap. 24. ROBINSON, 134 to 139. Robertson, The Making of the English Nation, 72 to 108.

Tuesday, Ap. 25. ROBINSON, 140 to 144 (para. 54) + Hutton, King and Baronage, 7 to 39.

Wednesday, Ap. 26. Lecture, 8.30.

Twelfth Week.

Monday, May 1. ROBINSON, 144 (para. 54) to 146 + Hutton, King and Baronage, 39 to 77.

Tuesday, May 2. ROBINSON, 147 + Hutton, 77 to 112.

Wednesday, May 3. Written test on all work since April 12th. In the lecture room, at the lecture hour.



Three general aspects of mediaeval life up to 1300.  
Thirteenth Week.

The growth of the Third Estate: the Burgher joins the Knight and the Monk as one of the characteristic figures of the Middle Ages.

The Culture of the Middle Ages. Universities and Scholasticism.

Monday, May 8. ROBINSON, 233 to 249 + Emerton, 508 to 532 + 539 to 540.

Tuesday, May 9. ROBINSON, 250 to 273 + Emerton, 439 to 464—(441 middle to 449 middle).

Wednesday, May 10. Lecture, Mediaeval Universities, 8.30.

Fourteenth Week.

The Kings of England win the Crown of France in the Hundred Years War. Effects of the struggle on both countries. Rise of Patriotism and Absolutism.

The third general aspect of Mediaeval life to 1300: Religion.

Monday, May 15. ROBINSON, 200 to 215 + Emerton, 558 to 571 + ROBINSON, 216 to 232.

Tuesday, May 16. ROBINSON, 277 to 302 + Seignobos, 179 to 191.

Wednesday, Lecture. The Church.

Fifteenth Week.

The Catastrophe of the Mediaeval Papacy. France humiliates the Papacy at Anagni. The Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy at Avignon followed by the Great Schism. The councils make triple Schism. Christendom forcibly consolidates and restores the Papacy at the Council of Constance. The Papacy secularized by the Renaissance does not carry out the mandate of the Council of Constance to reform the Church and report to future councils.

The Renaissance.

Monday, May 22. ROBINSON, 303 to 320 + Seignobos, 192 to 210.

Tuesday, May 23. ROBINSON, 320 to 352 + Seignobos, 211 to 231.

Wednesday, May 24. Lecture, 8.30.

## KEY DATES

These are to be learned by every student. Except where noted the index of Robinson will give a rapid reference to any of the events to refresh your memory. Where several dates are given in one bracket, only the heavily printed one need be memorized. The other events are to be remembered with it, as occurring *about* the same time.

### I. ANCIENT HISTORY. B. The Teutonic Age.

Alaric takes Rome **410**

Saxons attack Britain 449 }  
Battle of Châlons **451** }  
Leo the Great is Pope }

Theodoric receives the purple from Constantinople 498 }  
Baptism of Clovis **496** }

Justinian Emperor **527** to **565** }  
Rule of St. Benedict }

Gregory the Great becomes Pope **590**

Death of Mohammed 632 }  
Merovingian Monarchy at height under }  
Dagobert: died **638** }  
Synod of Whitby 664 }

Battle of Tours **732**

Charlemagne Emperor of the West **800** }  
Egbert King in England 802 }

### II. MEDIAEVAL HISTORY.

#### A. The early Mediaeval Age.

Treaty of Verdun **843** }  
Vikings make a winter camp (England) 855 }  
Nicholas the Great becomes Pope 858 }  
Vikings make a winter camp (France) 850 }

Alfred the Great dies 901  
Monastery of Cluny founded 910 (see Emerton 561)  
Rollo takes Normandy as a fief **911**  
Henry I (The Fowler) becomes King of Germania 919

Octavian elected Pope at nineteen (John XII) 955 }  
Otto the Great crowned Emperor **962** }

Hugh Capet crowned King of France **987** }  
Edgar crowned King of England 973 }

Council of Sutri **1046**

William the Conqueror lands **1066** }  
Canossa **1077** }

Accession of Louis VI (called the Fat) (Francia) 1098 }  
Accession of Henry I (England) **1100** }  
Jerusalem taken by Crusaders 1099 }

Concordat of Worms **1122**

St. Bernard's Crusade defeated 1149 }  
Frederick Barbarossa elected King of Germany **1152** }  
Louis VII of France divorces Eleanor }  
Henry II accedes (England) 1154 }

Death of Thomas a'Becket 1170 }  
Philip II Augustus accedes (France) 1180 }  
Battle of Legnano **1176** }

Crusade takes Constantinople 1204 }  
Innocent III Pope 1198 to 1216 }  
Frederick II (The Magnificent) elected King 1212 }  
Magna Carta **1215** }

Frederick II dies **1250**

Charles of Anjou kills Conradin 1268 (Emerton 355) }  
St. Louis dies on Crusade **1270** }  
Edward I (English Justinian) accedes 1272 }  
Thomas Aquinas dies 1274 }

The Model Parliament England 1295 }  
 Philip IV (the Handsome) and Council of }  
 Estates of France 1302 }  
 Scene at Anagni **1303**

## B. The Later Mediaeval Age.

Edward III King of England 1327 to 1377 }  
 Peace of Bretigny **1360** }  
 Papacy at Avignon 1305 to 1377.

Council at Constance } **1415**  
 Battle of Agincourt }

End of Hundred Years' War bet. France & England } **1453**  
 Turks take Constantinople }

Charles VIII of France invades Italy **1494** }  
 Columbus discovers America 1492 }











1912

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4. J. R. Green; Short History of the English People. American Book Co. \$1.08.
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which, to avoid confusion, will be issued at each exercise as required. Questions to be answered on an outline map may form part of any general test.

#### First Week.

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In Class; locate on an outline map furnished for the purpose Rome, Constantinople, the boundary between the two eastern and two western Prefectures, The Kingdom of Theodoric.

#### Second Week.

To be done out of Class and handed in: The Empire of Charlemagne. Dow pg. 7. Mark distinctions of governed and tributary states.

In Class; locate the chief seas, mountain ranges and rivers of western Europe as shown in Dow, pg. 3.

#### Fourth Week.

To be done in Class; Europe after the Treaty of Verdun.

#### Fifth Week.

Europe in 10th century; to be done out of Class; due Tuesday.

#### Seventh Week.

In Class; Locate Venice, Milan, Legnano, The States of the Church, The Kingdom of Sicily. Dow 13<sup>2</sup>.

#### Eighth Week.

In Class; The Crusaders States. Dow 9<sup>2</sup>.

#### Tenth Week.

To be done before Class and handed in; The Dominions of the Angevins. Green 104.

In Class; English possessions in France at the close of the reign of Philip Augustus. Robinson, pg. 129.

#### Fourteenth Week.

Two maps to be done out of Class and handed in; France at the Beginning of the Hundred Years' War; France after the Treaty of Bretigny. Dow 12.

In Class; France in 1429. Dow 12. Locate Paris, Agincourt, Crécy, Poitiers, Calais.

## CALENDAR OF CLASS EXERCISES

The student is expected to consult this Calendar, to report for lectures and to be prepared on assignments at the proper dates. Recitations on assignments may be either written or oral. All assignments *include* the first and last page mentioned. Any conditioned student, whose instructor reports that his work has been unsatisfactory during the term, will be required to repeat the course.

All lectures and tests at 8.30.

### First Week.

The Roman Empire. The Pax Romana. The limes separating civilization from barbarism. The armed migrations of the barbarian tribes break the limes in the fifth century. Consequent disintegration of the Roman State west of the Adriatic.

Monday, Feb. 12. Lecture at 8.30.

Tuesday, Feb. 13. ROBINSON, Chapters I, II and +Seignobos, 1 to 22.

Wednesday, Feb. 14. Lecture 8.30.

### Second Week.

The Semi-barbari try to restore the Roman State by Gothic Vigour. The Mediterranean world splits into two parts. The Romans build up the Roman Church. The Mohammedan migration partly destroys Roman civilization.

Monday, Feb. 19. ROBINSON, 24 to 55 + Seignobos.

Tuesday, Feb. 20. ROBINSON, 56 to 66 + Seignobos, 22 to 52.

Wednesday, Feb. 21. Lecture III, 8.30.

### Third Week.

The Franks halt the Mohammedan migration. Growth of their dominion. Charlemagne with the help of the Roman Church succeeds in partly restoring, west of the Adriatic, the Roman State by Gothic Vigour. A poor imitation of the great original but the best government of western Europe for centuries.

Monday, Feb. 26. ROBINSON, 67 to 91 + Seignobos, 52 to 62.

Tuesday, Feb. 27. Eginhard, Life of Charlemagne.

Wednesday, Feb. 28. Written test on all previous work including lectures, at the lecture hour, in the lecture room.

#### Fourth Week.

The Teutons were unable to understand the Roman idea of the State and therefore Charlemagne's Empire disintegrated at his death. None of his descendants could hold his sceptre. During this disintegration new barbarian invasions from all sides. Triple divisions of the Empire. Under the growing feudal organization of society, functions of government were associated with the holding of land and individuals had no protection unless connected with some part of this feudal organization. Intermittent war among rapacious feudal magnates. The Church undefended against feudal violence sinks into the Pornocracy. Drift toward disorder. Anything resembling the Pax Romana, or rule of general law, disappears.

Monday, March 4. ROBINSON, 92 to 119 + Seignobos, 63 to 85.

Tuesday, March 5. Emerton, 478 to 508.

Wednesday, March 6 Lecture on Normans and Chivalry at 8.30.

#### Fifth Week.

About beginning of tenth century signs of coming improvement visible in three parts of the ancient Roman world:

in the former Roman province of Britain under Alfred the Great;

in France the foundation of the Monastery of Cluny and Rollo taking Normandy as a fief;

in the Eastern division of Charlemagne's Empire under Henry the Fowler. His son Otto the Great unites Germania and Italia, takes imperial crown at Rome and establishes the Roman Empire of the German Nation. Its Emperors think themselves successors of the Emperors of Ancient Rome. The ideal of this Roman Empire of the German Nation; two heads of the world, Pope and Emperor.

Monday, March 11. ROBINSON, 133. 134. Green, Chap. I, Sections V and VI.

Tuesday, March 12. ROBINSON, 148 to 152 + Bryce 88 to 126—(110 to 115) + Emerton 141 last paragraph to 142 + 561 last para. to 564.

Wednesday, March 13. Lecture at 8.30.

### Sixth Week.

The Emperors try to restore the spiritual character of the Church. The Synod of Sutri. The influence of Cluny tries to restore purity of the Church by reform within the Church. The ideal of Gregory VII (Hildebrand); a pure Church ruling the world.

The ideal of Gregory VII causes strife between Popes and Emperors. First stage of this struggle: the question of investiture. Apparent papal victory at Canossa. The Concordat of Worms closes first stage of the struggle.

Monday, March 18. ROBINSON, 153 to 161 + Emerton, 185 to 209.

Tuesday, March 19. ROBINSON, 162 to 172 + Emerton, 212 to 254.

Wednesday, March 20. Written test on all work since Feb. 28th, at the lecture hour, in the lecture room.

### Seventh Week.

The strife between Popes and Emperors renewed over fiefs in Italy by Frederick Barbarossa (Hohensaufen). Lombard league backs the Pope and beats Frederick at Legnano. Pope triumphs over Emperor at Venice. The Papacy at height of its power. Innocent III fulfills ideals of Gregory VII (Hildebrand) Frederick II (The Magnificent) attacks the Church. Sicily.

Monday, March 25. ROBINSON, 173 to 180 (para. 70) + Emerton, 271 to 274 + 282 to 312.

Tuesday, March 26. ROBINSON, 180 (para. 70) to 185 + Emerton, 314 to 343.

Wednesday, March 27. Lecture, 8.30.

### Eighth Week.

Complete triumph of the Papacy at the death of Frederick II. The Crown of Sicily given to Charles of Anjou brother of St. Louis King of France. He sends the last of the Hohenstaufen to the scaffold. The Empire is practically suspended. It is revived as a German institution. The effects upon Germany of this long struggle with the Papacy. The German Constitution.

In the Crusades, a great common military enterprise sustained intermittently during this struggle,

Christendom unites at the call of the Popes to attack the Mohammedan world.

Monday, April 1. ROBINSON, 185 to 186 + Emerton, 352 to 356 + Bryce, 212 to 243.

Tuesday, April 2. ROBINSON, 187 to 200 + Emerton, 358 to 397.

Wednesday, April 3. Written test, in lecture room.

Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Week.

A very brief account of two of the extra imperial Kingdoms which formed during this struggle.

Ninth and Tenth Week.

France to about 1300 with special reference to the reigns of two Kings: Philip the August, who built up the French monarchy chiefly by war, and St. Louis, who consolidated it in peace.

Ninth Week.

Monday, April 8. Vacation.

Tuesday, April 9. Vacation.

Wednesday, April 10. Lecture, St. Louis.

Tenth Week.

Monday, April 15. ROBINSON, 120 to 128 (para. 50.) + Philip Augustus by Hutton, 1 to 14 + 86. 87 + 112 to 132 (omit details of crown ministers, 126 to 129 and expand account of crown local officers by Emerton, 425 to 429) + Hutton, 139 + 150 to 152 + 156 to 158 + 227, 228.

Tuesday, April 16. ROBINSON, 128 to 132 + Seignobos, 120 to 139 + 173 to 178 + Emerton, 430 to 434.

Wednesday, April 17. Lecture at 8.30.

Eleventh and Twelfth Week. England to the Great War with France.

Monday, April 22. ROBINSON, 133 to 144. Green, Chap. II, Section IV to end of Section VIII.

Tuesday, April 23. ROBINSON, 144 to 147 and 278. Green, Chap. II, Section IX, to end of Chap. IV, Section I, (omit Chap. III, Section I and IV and Chap. IV to paragraph Conquest of Wales.)

Wednesday, April 24. Lecture.



**Twelfth Week.** England to 1422 and the Conquest of France.

Monday, April 29. ROBINSON, 279 to 281. Green, Chap. IV, Section II to end of Chap. IV omit pg. 184 to 187 and Section VI.

Tuesday, April 30. ROBINSON, 281 to 292. Green, Chap. V, omit Sections II and III, and Section V to pg. 260.

Wednesday, May 1. Written test on all work since Ap. 3. Lecture room 8.30.

Three general aspects of mediaeval life up to 1300.  
**Thirteenth Week.**

The growth of the Third Estate: the Burgher joins the Knight and the Monk as one of the characteristic figures of the Middle Ages.

The Culture of the Middle Ages. Universities and Scholasticism.

Monday, May 6. ROBINSON, 233 to 249 + Emerton, 508 to 532 + 539 to 540.

Tuesday, May 7. ROBINSON, 250 to 273 + Emerton, 439 to 464—(441 middle to 449 middle).

Wednesday, May 8. Lecture Mediaeval Universities.

**Fourteenth Week.**

England loses France. Effects of the struggle on both countries. Rise of Patriotism and Absolutism. The Wars of the Roses and The New Monarchy.

The third general aspect of Mediaeval life to 1300: Religion.

Monday, May 13. ROBINSON, 200 to 215 + Emerton, 558 to 571 + ROBINSON, 216 to 232.

Tuesday, May 14. ROBINSON, 293 to 302 + Green, Chap. VI to end of Section III.

Wednesday, May 15. Lecture. The Church.

**Fifteenth Week.**

The Catastrophe of the Mediaeval Papacy. France humiliates the Papacy at Anagni. The Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy at Avignon followed by the Great Schism. The councils make Triple Schism. Christendom forcibly consolidates and restores the Papacy at the Council of Constance. The Papacy secularized by the Renaissance does not carry out the mandate of the

Council of Constance to reform the Church and report to future councils.

The Renaissance.

Monday, May 20. ROBINSON, 303 to 320 + Seignobos, 192 to 210.

Tuesday, May 21. ROBINSON, 320 to 352 + Seignobos, 211 to 231.

Wednesday, May 22. Lecture, 8.30.

## KEY DATES

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Saxons begin Conquest of Britain. }  
Battle of Châlons **451** }  
Leo I the Great is Pope }

Theodoric receives the purple from Constantinople **498** }  
Baptism of Clovis **496** }

Justinian Emperor **527** to **565** }  
Rule of St. Benedict }

Gregory the Great becomes Pope **590**

Death of Mohammed 632 }  
Merovingian Monarchy at height under }  
Dagobert : died **638** }  
Synod of Whitby 664 }

Battle of Tours **732**

Charlemagne Emperor of the West **800** }  
Egbert King in England 802 }

### II. MEDIAEVAL HISTORY.

#### A. The early Mediaeval Age.

Treaty of Verdun **843** }  
Vikings make a winter camp (England) 855 }  
Nicholas I the Great becomes Pope **858**, Emerton 62 }  
Vikings make a winter camp (France) 850 }

Alfred the Great dies 901  
 Monastery of Cluny founded 910 (see Emerton 561)  
 Rollo takes Normandy as a fief **911**  
 Henry I (The Fowler) becomes King in Germania 919

Octavian elected Pope (John XII) 955, Emerton 135 }  
 Otto I the Great crowned Emperor **962**

Hugh Capet crowned King of France **987**

Council of Sutri **1046**

William the Conqueror lands **1066**

Accession of Louis VI (called the Fat) (Francia) 1098 }  
 Accession of Henry I (England) **1100** (Green)  
 Jerusalem taken by Crusaders 1099

Concordat of Worms **1122**

St. Bernard's Crusade defeated 1149  
 Frederick Barbarossa elected King of Germany **1152**  
 Louis VII of France divorces Eleanor  
 Henry II accedes (England) 1154

Death of Thomas a'Becket 1170 }  
 Philip II Augustus accedes (France) 1180  
 Battle of Legnano **1176**

Crusade takes Constantinople 1204, Emerton 381 }  
 Innocent III Pope 1198 to 1216  
 Frederick II (The Magnificent) elected King 1212  
 Magna Carta **1215**

Frederick II dies **1250**

Charles of Anjou kills Conradin 1268 (Emerton 355) }  
 St. Louis IX dies on Crusade **1270**  
 Edward I (English Justinian) accedes 1272  
 Thomas Aquinas dies 1274

The Model Parliament England 1295  
 Philip IV (the Handsome) and Council of  
 Estates of France 1302  
 Scene at Anagni **1303**

## B. The Later Mediaeval Age.

Edward III King of England 1327 to 1377  
 Peace of Bretigny **1360**  
 Papacy at Avignon 1305 to 1377

Council at Constance  
 Battle of Agincourt } **1415**

End of Hundred Years' War bet. France & England  
 Turks take Constantinople } **1453**

Charles VIII of France invades Italy **1494**  
 Columbus discovers America 1492









1913

**HISTORY OF WESTERN  
EUROPE**

IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**SOPHOMORE COURSE SECOND TERM**



## BOOKS REQUIRED IN THE COURSE

This list is not the same as the list last year.

1. Robinson; History of Western Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.44.
2. Emerton; Mediaeval Europe. Ginn & Co. \$1.35.
3. Eginhard; Life of Charlemagne, translated by S. E. Turner. \$0.30.
4. Hassall; A Class Book of English History. Rivingtons.
5. Seignobos; History of Mediaeval Civilization. Scribner's. \$0.67.
6. Hutton, W. H.; Philip Augustus. Macmillan. \$0.68.
7. Bryce; The Holy Roman Empire. Macmillan. \$1.35.
8. {The Calendar.  
  {The Outline Maps to be bought at the University Book Store.
9. Atlas of European History. Earl W. Dow. \$1.35.  
  The Atlas and the Robinson will be useful for Junior History.

Any of these books can be bought, by members, at the University Book Store for the price affixed to each.

It will be necessary to own Robinson, the Calendar, the Maps and the Atlas.

Buy or order these *now*. It is better to own the other books. But if you do not wish to buy them, you may read them in the library, where a number of copies have been provided. The proportion to the size of the class of copies provided, is larger than that provided at some universities. But it will not be large enough if everybody puts off using the books until the last possible moment. A rule of the course prevents an instructor from accepting the excuse of inability to get a book.

The following map exercises are part of the required work of the course. Six maps are to be prepared out of class and some simple questions are to be answered on outline maps in class. The maps must be handed *on time* to your instructors; not to the lecturer. The larger maps for this purpose can be procured at the College Book Store and the price includes the smaller maps to be used in class, which, to avoid confusion, will be issued at each exercise as required. Questions to be answered on an outline map may form part of any general test.

### First Week.

Roman Empire. Dow pg. 4. To be done out of class and handed in on Tuesday.

In Class; locate on an outline map furnished for the purpose Rome, Constantinople, the boundary between the two eastern and two western Prefectures, The Kingdom of Theodoric.

### Second Week.

To be done out of Class and handed in: The Empire of Charlemagne. Dow pg. 7. Mark distinctions of governed and tributary states.

In Class; locate the chief seas, mountain ranges and rivers of western Europe as shown in Dow, pg. 3.

### Fourth Week.

To be done in Class; Europe after the Treaty of Verdun. Dow 7, II.

### Fifth Week.

Europe in 10th century; to be done out of Class; due Tuesday. Dow 8.

### Eighth Week.

In Class; Locate Venice, Milan, Legnano. The States of the Church, The Kingdom of Sicily. Dow 13<sup>2</sup>.

In Class; The Crusaders States. Dow 9<sup>2</sup>.

### Tenth Week.

To be done before Class and handed in; France in 1154. Dow 11<sup>2</sup>.

In Class; English possessions in France at the close of the reign of Philip Augustus. Robinson, pg. 129.

### Twelfth Week.

Two maps to be done out of Class and handed in; France at the Beginning of the Hundred Years' War; France after the Treaty of Bretigny. Dow 12.

In Class; France in 1429. Dow 12. Locate Paris, Crécy, Poitiers, Calais.

## CALENDAR OF CLASS EXERCISES

The student is expected to consult this Calendar, to report for lectures and to be prepared on assignments at the proper dates. Recitations on assignments may be either written or oral. All assignments *include* the first and last page mentioned. Any conditioned student, whose instructor reports that his work has been unsatisfactory during the term, will be required to repeat the course.

All lectures and tests at 8.30.

### First Week.

The Roman Empire. The Pax Romana. The lines separating civilization from barbarism. The armed migrations of the barbarian tribes break the lines in the fifth century. Consequent disintegration of the Roman State west of the Adriatic.

Monday, Feb. 10. Lecture at 8.30.

Tuesday, Feb. 11. ROBINSON, Chapters I, II and + Seignobos, 1 to 22.

Wednesday, Feb. 12. Lecture, 8.30.

### Second Week.

The Semi-barbari try to restore the Roman State by Gothic Vigour. The Mediterranean world splits into two parts. The Romans build up the Roman Church. The Mohammedan migration partly destroys Roman civilization.

Monday, Feb. 17. ROBINSON, 24 to 55.

Tuesday, Feb. 18. ROBINSON, 56 to 66 + Seignobos, 22 to 52.

Wednesday, Feb. 19. Lecture III, 8.30.

### Third Week.

The Franks stop the Mohammedan migration. Growth of their dominion. Charlemagne with the help of the Roman Church succeeds in partly restoring, west of the Adriatic, the Roman State by Gothic Vigour. A poor imitation of the great original but the best government of western Europe for centuries.

Monday, Feb. 24. ROBINSON, 67 to 91 + Seignobos, 52 to 62.

Tuesday, Feb. 25. Eginhard, Life of Charlemagne.

Wednesday, Feb. 26. Written test on all previous work including lectures, at the lecture hour, in the lecture room.

#### Fourth Week.

The Teutons were unable to understand the Roman idea of the State and therefore Charlemagne's Empire disintegrated at his death. None of his descendants could hold his sceptre. During this disintegration new barbarian invasions came from all sides. Triple division of the Empire. Under the growing feudal organization of society, functions of government were associated with the holding of land and individuals had no protection unless connected with some part of this feudal organization. Intermittent war among rapacious feudal magnates. The Church undefended against feudal violence sinks into the Pornocracy. Drift toward disorder. Anything resembling the Pax Romana or rule of general law, disappears.

Monday, March 3. ROBINSON, 92 to 119 + Seignobos, 63 to 85.

Tuesday, March 4. Emerton, 478 to 508.

Wednesday, March 5. Lecture on Normans and Chivalry at 8.30.

#### Fifth Week.

About beginning of tenth century signs of coming improvement visible in three parts of the ancient Roman world:

in the former Roman province of Britain under Alfred the Great;

in France the foundation of the Monastery of Cluny and Rollo taking Normandy as a fief;

in the Eastern division of Charlemagne's Empire under Henry the Fowler. His son Otto the Great unites Germania and Italia, takes imperial crown at Rome and establishes the Roman Empire of the German Nation. Its Emperors think themselves successors of the Emperors of Ancient Rome. The ideal of this Roman Empire of the German Nation; two heads of the world, Pope and Emperor.

Monday, March 10. ROBINSON, 133 to 134; Hassall, 28 to 54.

Tuesday, March 11. ROBINSON, 148 to 152 + Bryce 88 to 126 — (110 to 115) + Emerton 141 last paragraph to 142 + 561 last para. to 564.

Wednesday, March 12. Lecture at 8.30.

### Sixth Week.

The Emperors try to restore the spiritual character of the Church. The Synod of Sutri. The attempt to restore purity of the Church by reform within the Church. The ideal of Gregory VII (Hildebrand); a pure Church ruling the world.

The ideal of Gregory VII causes strife between Popes and Emperors. First stage of this struggle: the question of investiture. Apparent papal victory at Canossa. The Concordat of Worms closes first stage of the struggle.

Monday, March 17. ROBINSON, 153 to 161 + Emerton, 185 to 209.

Tuesday, March 18. ROBINSON, 162 to 172 + Emerton, 212 to 254.

Wednesday, March 19. Written test on all work since Feb. 28th, at the lecture hour, in the lecture room.

### Seventh Week.

March 24. Vacation.

March 25. Vacation.

March 26. Lecture, 8.30.

### Eighth Week.

The strife between Popes and Emperors renewed over fiefs in Italy by Frederick Barbarossa (Hohensaufen). Lombard league backs the Pope and beats Frederick at Legnano. Pope triumphs over Emperor at Venice. The Papacy at height of its power. Innocent III fulfills ideals of Gregory VII (Hildebrand) Frederick II (The Magnificent) attacks the Church, Sicily.

Monday, March 31. ROBINSON, 173 to 180 (para. 70) + Emerton, 271 to 274 + 282 to 312.

Tuesday, April 1. ROBINSON, 180 (para. 70) to 185 + Emerton, 314 to 343.

Wednesday, April 2. Lecture, 8.30.

## Ninth Week.

Complete triumph of the Papacy at the death of Frederick II. The Crown of Sicily given to Charles of Anjou brother of St. Louis King of France. He sends the last of the Hohenstaufen to the scaffold. The Empire is practically suspended. It is revived as a German institution. The effects upon Germany of this long struggle with the Papacy. The German Constitution.

In the Crusades, a great common military enterprise sustained intermittently during this struggle, Christendom unites at the call of the Popes to attack the Mohammedan world.

Monday, April 7. ROBINSON, 185 to 186 + Emerton, 352 to 356 + Bryce, 212 to 243.

Tuesday, April 8. ROBINSON, 187 to 200 + Emerton, 358 to 397.

Wednesday, April 9. Written test, in lecture room.

## Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Week.

A very brief account of the extra imperial Kingdoms which formed during this struggle.

## Tenth Week.

France to about 1300 with special reference to the reigns of two Kings: Philip the August, who built up the French monarchy chiefly by war, and St. Louis, who consolidated it in peace.

Monday, April 14. ROBINSON, 120 to 128 (para. 50) + Philip Augustus by Hutton, 1 to 14 + 86, 87 + 112 to 132 (omit details of crown ministers, 126 to 129 and expand account of crown local officers by Emerton, 425 to 429) + Hutton, 139 + 150 to 152 + 156 to 158 + 227, 228.

Tuesday, April 15. ROBINSON, 128 to 132 + Seignobos, 120 to 139 + 173 to 178 + Emerton, 430 to 434.

Wednesday, April 16. Lecture at 8.30. St. Louis.

## Eleventh and Twelfth Week. England to the Great War with France.

Monday, April 21. Hassall, 55 to 95.

Tuesday, April 22. Hassall, 99 to 128.

Wednesday, April 23. Lecture.



### Twelfth Week.

Monday, April 28. Hassall, 128 to 165.

Tuesday, April 29. Hassall, 165 to 198 + ROBINSON, 281 to 292.

Wednesday, April 30. Written test on all work since April 3. Lecture room, 8.30.

Three General Aspects of Mediaeval Life up to 1300.

### Thirteenth week.

The growth of the Third Estate: the Burgher joins the Knight and the Monk as one of the characteristic figures of the Middle Ages.

The Culture of the Middle Ages. Universities and Scholasticism.

Monday, May 5. ROBINSON, 233 to 249 + Emerton, 508 to 532 + 539 to 540.

Tuesday, May 6. ROBINSON, 250 to 273 + Emerton, 439 to 464—(441 middle to 449 middle).

Wednesday, May 7. Lecture, Mediaeval Universities.

### Fourteenth Week.

The third general aspect of Mediaeval life to 1300: Religion.

Effects of the Hundred Years' War on England and France. Rise of Patriotism and Absolutism. The Wars of the Roses and The New Monarchy.

Monday, May 12. ROBINSON, 200 to 215 + Emerton, 558 to 571 + ROBINSON, 216 to 232.

Tuesday, May 13. ROBINSON, 292 to 302 + Hassall 244 to 275.

Wednesday, May 14. Lecture. The Church.

### Fifteenth Week.

The Catastrophe of the Mediaeval Papacy. France humiliates the Papacy at Anagni. The Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy at Avignon followed by the Great Schism. The councils make Triple Schism. Christendom forcibly consolidates and restores the Papacy at the Council of Constance. The Papacy secularized by the Renaissance does not carry out the mandate of the Council of Constance to reform the Church and report to future councils.

The Renaissance.

Monday, May 19. ROBINSON, 303 to 320 + Seignobos,  
192 to 210.

Tuesday, May 20. ROBINSON, 320 to 352 + Seignobos,  
211 to 231.

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Edward I accedes 1272 }

Thomas Aquinas dies 1274

The Model Parliament England 1295 }

Philip IV (the Handsome) and Council of

Estates of France 1302 }

Scene at Anagni **1303**

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Papacy at Avignon 1305 to 1377 }

Council at Constance }  
Battle of Agincourt } **1415**

End of Hundred Years' War. bet. France & England }  
Turks take Constantinople } **1453**

Charles VIII of France invades Italy **1494** }  
Columbus discovers America 1492 }









P6177.737.3 1909-1911  
Princeton University.Dept.of  
History.

Notes of the lectures in  
the history of Western  
Europe in the Middle Ages.

[illegible]

